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### HISTORY

OF

## FRANCE,

From PHARAMOND to CHARLES IX.

Translated from the FRENCH of

M. BOSSUET, Bishop of MEAUX.

#### VOLUME II.

Containing the reigns of CHARLES VI.
CHARLES VII. LOUIS XI. and
CHARLES VIII.

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FRANCE,

From PHARAMONE SO CHARLES IX.



VOLUME U.

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Pered by A. Donarpson and J. Raras.

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cording to out in. The duke of Bargun-

# the peers had the first rank, he ought, as fort, as the same of the same same in his savours

During this of the state of that place de-

MMBDIATELY after the death of Charles. the duke of Anjou came to court. As be the weldest lof the three brothers, he forthwith made himfelf mafter of affairs, and took the title of regent; which occafioned diffurbances between that prince and the dukes of Berry, of Burgundy, and of Bourbon! but, after they were quieted, they agreed that Charles MI. who was then but twelve years of age, should be anointed and crowned, though he was not of the age prescribed by the ordinance of the king his father, and that he should have the administration; of his own kingdom, which should be governed in shis memerity the advice or Vol. II.

advice of his uncles. The dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, to whom the deceased king had particularly recommended the education of his children, were intrusted with

that important charge.

That prince was crowned at Rheims according to custom. The duke of Burgundy pretended, that, in that ceremony, where the peers had the first rank, he ought, as first peer, to take place of the duke of Anjou. Judgment was given in his favour; and the duke of Anjou having taken the first place, notwithstanding the judgment, the duke of Burgundy came and placed himself above him; from whence some say that he was called Philip the Bold.

During this time the siege of Nantes continued. The inhabitants of that place defended themselves vigorously, and made frequent salties, in which the English lost many men. The duke of Brittany could not give them the affistance he had primited, because his barons, whom Charles V. had gained, would never sight against France. So the earl of Buckingham, after baving long obstinately persisted in that siege, and having lost in it the greatest part of his army, was at last forced to retire very much dissatisfied with the duke of

a peace between the wking and the duke; on condition that the duke should do homage

prescribed by the ordinance of washing;

to the king, and that the king should restore him the towns which the French had taken. Mean-time, the earl of Flanders was belieging Ghent. The inhabitants of that town had 80,000 men under arms; and they were fo little straitened, that, whilst they were belieged, they took Aloft, which they pillaged, and carried Terremonde by affault. When the season was very far advanced, they forced the earl to raise the fiege. He did not, however, give over making war against them, and gained a great battle against the inhabitants of Ghent, in which one of their generals was killed. On the accounts of this, the inhabitants of Ghent were much discouraged, and were just ready to submit, when Peter du Bois, one of their leaders, a man of fense and resolution, restored their affairs. He proposed to them, for captain-general, Philip d'Artevelle, the fon of James, who had so long governed Flanders; whether to increase their courage by a name in estimation among them, or that he was very glad to remove from himself the danger of so odious a command by giving it to another.

Philip was a well-accomplished man, and agreeable to the people, who wanted not ambition, but who, having no opportunity to satisfy it, thought of nothing but passing his life quietly. Peter du Bois went to him, and asked him whether his father's

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reputation had charms for him; and whether he had courage enough to wish to succeed to his power? He answered, he wished it much, but that he knew of no means to arrive at it. And I, replied he, will procure you the means; but do you feel you bave a beart sufficiently baughty and cruel not to regard the lives of men? for that is the way the people of Ghent must be managed.

When he faw him ready for every thing, he explained to him how he was to behave, and begged him to fecond him as opportunity offered. Then he affembled the people, and told them, that, in the state in which he saw affairs, they must chuse a leader, who should be a man of resolution, whose very name should be a good omen to Flanders. He spoke in such a way, as to infinuate that he had fome particular person in view. Pressed to name him, he at last proposed Philip d'Artevelle; and, at his name, all the people broke out into loud acclamations, and immediately fent in fearch of him.

The artful and defigning man, instructed by Peter du Bois, answered, that he wanted no fuch dangerous command, nor to expose himself to the hazard of being treated like his father, whom they had recompensed for his services by a cruel death. He suffered himself to be much intreated, and, at last, accepted the command, after procuring from

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the people a grant of every thing necessary for establishing his authority.

The earl having again besieged Ghent, two of the chief burghers fecretly interposed for a peace; and reported that the earli would pardon every thing, provided some of the authors of the rebellion were punished; which he defired, because, if the seditious were not suppressed by some example, there would never be peace in the town. Du Bois knew well, that he should not be among the last punished, as being the leader of the fedition; he acquainted Artevelle of their common danger; fo that, without further confultation, they killed, in an openaffembly, the two burghers, as traitors, and, after doing fo, there was no more talk of peace.

About the fame time, there arose seditions and popular tumults in feveral kingdoms. In England, a wicked priest perfuaded the people not to fuffer themselves to be treated like flaves by their lords, because God had made all men equal; and that there would never be peace in England till all the nobility, were extirpated, and all ranks were equal. That ignorant fellow knew not that the different stations were established for the quiet of the world, by God's express command. More than 60,000 of them got together, and fent to ask the

king to fet them at liberty.

The king went and spoke to them from

a boat on the Thames, and granted their demand; for there was no possibility of resisting them. They were not satisfied with promises; and, in order to obtain the letters patent necessary for them, they marched to London, entered the palace, and pillaged the apartment of the king's mother; they took even the archbishop of Canterbury, with some others of the council, and beheaded them. The king was forced to speak to them himself, and to promise them that the patents which they demanded should be made out.

They returned once more; and, keeping at a little distance, they sent some of their number to get out these patents. They had previously agreed, that, if they were not satisfied, at the first signal of their deputy, they should advance, and kill every one, except the king, who was, said they, a young man, whom they must save, and then instruct him after their own fashion. Their envoy having spoken insolently, the mayor of London killed him by the king's express command. The rebels slew into a pation at that sight, and became suriously mad.

The king feeing them running toward him in that condition, walked straight to them, without being afraid: he first began with asking them sternly, whither they were going, what were their intentions, and whether they thought they had any other leader than

than him, who was their king? Terrified at those words, and at the king's resolution, they retired in disorder. The leaders of the sedition were taken, and punished according to their demerits. I had all sanwar same self

At the same time, the avarice of the duke of Anjou likewise occasioned a commotion among the Parisians. That prince, intending to execute his enterprise on Naples, feized the king's coffers, and embezzled the treasure; he then caused considerable taxes to be laid on Paris: the meaner people rebelled, and killed those who collected them. The rebels broke open the prisons, and brought out Hugh Aubriot, mayor of Paris, an enterprising man, whom they intended to make their leader; but he was too wife to head an incenfed multitude, and made his escape as soon as he was at liberty. Dies ageneval aiste and sona

Charles having caused some of the rebels to be punished, the rest of the people obtained his pardon, on promiting to pay every year a certain fum; of which, how, ever, receivers fettled by the people themselves were to have the management. By a fimilar kind of madness, the inhabitants of Rouen were hurried into a sedition; and they proceeded to fuch excess of rage, that they were fo audacious as to chuse a merchant for their king. Charles, baving gone thither, repressed the fedition by a severity mixed with clemency. He punished some, and

pardoned

pardoned others of them, but most of them

redeemed their lives by giving money.

Though the troubles were appealed, the king was not thought fafe at Paris, or in the great towns; fo that he lived at Meaux, or at Senlis. In fact, this prince's youth rendered his authority fo little respected, that he was openly disobeyed; and even, when he fent to ask money from the receivers for the necessities of the state, they refused to give any till the Parisians had given their consent. Mean-time, the duke of Anjou got for himself 100,000 franks, after which he set out for Naples. After being reduced to the greatest straits, and lofing both his army and immense sums of money, he died there in great mifery.

Mean-time, the inhabitants of Ghent, weary of the war, were contriving to make peace with their sovereign, and to regain his favour. Philip, to amuse the populace, went himself to the assembly, where the peace was to be treated of, and came afterward and made his report in the public market-place. He acquainted them that: the earl was extraordinarily incenfed, and that he wanted all the people, except the prelates and ecclefiafties, should come to him without the town, in their shirts, barefooted, and a rope about their necks, in order to be punished as he pleased, without being in a condition to defend themselves: Som

So, concludes he, we must all perish shamemerchine with Load

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At these words, a frightful groan was uttered; and Philip, demanding filence, refumed his speech in this manner: "In our " present extremity, we have the choice of " three things; either to shut ourselves up " in the churches, as confessing penitents, " resolved to die like martyrs for the li-" berty of our country; or to go and meet " the earl, as he desires, with a rope about " our necks, and put ourselves in his mer-" cy. He will not, perhaps, be fo hard-" hearted, as not to have compassion upo " on his own people, and I shall be the " first to expose myself for my country. "But if those things seem too harsh to " you, as they really are, there is yet ano-" ther resolution to be taken; this is, to " chuse 6000 of the most resolute among " us, and go and attack the earl at Bruges; " If we be killed, we shall die, at least, like " brave men, and perhaps God will give us " the victory." water your all high or aveil

All the people cried out that was what must be done. They resolved to march, and, if they were beat, those who should remain in the town should put fire to it, and reduce every thing to ashes. With this resolution, they marched straight to Bruges; from whence the earl, at the fame time, came to meet them with 40,000 inhabitants of Bruges. When he had observed the counter nance

nance of the citizens of Ghent, who were marching with loud shouts, like desperate men, he easily knew that the numerous but undisciplined people, who followed him in a confused manner, would not be able to relift their fury. So he retired, and did what he could to bring the inhabitants of Bruges back into the town. They, trusting in their great numbers, were obstinately bent on fighting. o various to varied

Philip encouraged his men, by telling them that they must forget every thing, wives, children, estates, and country; and only think of conquest or death. After thus exhorting them, he ordered them to attack, recommending to them, above all things, to march close, without stepping aside or leaving their ranks, whatever happened. At the same time, they made a wheel, to throw the fun in the eyes of the inhabitants of Bruges, and fell on them all together with fo great vigour, that they could not fland the shock, but betook themselves to flight in very great disorder.

Those of Ghent entered the town pellmell with the fugitives, feized the public places and avenues, and placed guards every where. It was in the night-time, and every place was full of horror and dread. The earl, having collected fome men, intended to go to the market-place, and make himself mafter of it; but the Ghent men had prevented him, and a report was brought him, SMIMI

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While this report was making, he perceived his torches extinguished. At the same time he fled, and, covered with his equerry's great coat, fought from street to street a refuge. At last, he entered the low smoky house of a poor widow, and asked her for some place to conceal himself. She made him step up to her highest chamber by a ladder, and told him she could put him no where but under her childrens bed. The earl's enemies had orders to follow him, and, coming to the house where he was, asked the mistress where the man was whom they had feen entering a moment before. The woman, without being furprised, answered, that nobody had entered but herfelf, and they might, if they pleased, look above.

One of them went up, and putting his head through an opening, and feeing none but children asleep, he assured them there was nobody there. The earl left the house, and, by break of day escaping out of the town, he walked, on foot and alone, through unknown paths. Wearied and satigued, he hid himself, to take some repose, behind a bush, where he heard a voice which terrified him; but, luckily, the person who was speaking, was one of his own servants, who gave him a horse on which he went off for

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Mean-time, all the towns, except Oudenarde, surrendered to Philip; he began to live like a prince, and the establishment of his household was equal to that of the earl. All the people, full of hopes, flocked to. him. The earl, in despair, expected no further affiftance, but in the king's protection, which he intended to procure by means of the duke of Burgundy, his fon-in-law. Artevelle laid fiege to Oudenarde, and preffed it hotly with great pieces of canon; for those thundering machines, invented some years before, began then to be much used. The earl, who knew not how to fuccour that place, went to Bapaume to visit the duke of Burgundy, and agreed with him about what he was to do for his restoration.

The duke, on his return to court, communicated the matter to the duke of Berry, and the king found them one day as they were speaking of it together. He was returning from hunting, and had a hawk on his fift. He came up to them with a chearful countenance, and asked them inquisitively what they were saying? They answered, that they were speaking of things which concerned him much: and, when he pressed them to know what it was, they began to show him how the populace of Flanders had rebelled against the earl; and added, that it was his interest to protect his cousin, and his vasfal, the rather that the rebellion

of the inhabitants of Ghent gave a bad ex-

ample to his own towns.

The king, who was then scarce fourteen years of age, showed that he wished, above all things, foon to take arms, and that he was exceedingly pleased that opportunity had offered for his not remaining long idle. It is remarked, that, from his earliest infancy, he had shown a warlike temper; and that, when the king his father presented feveral things to his choice, he always laid his hand on the arms, which had engaged the love of the nobility to him. The lords were affembled to deliberate on a war against Flanders. The king's impatience was provoked at the flowness of that affembly; and he said often to his uncles, " To what " purpose are so many conferences? they " only ferve to spend time, and warn the " enemy to be on their guard." The war was resolved on, and undertaken without delay, though the winter was fast approaching, left the rebels should have that further time to fortify themselves. The king wanted to go thither in person; and the army was marched to the bridge of Comines, built on the Lys above Courtray.

Artevelle, who was continuing the fiege of Oudenarde, fent Peter du Bois to defend that passage. When Peter knew that the king was approaching, he broke the arches of the bridge, and guarded the other bank of the river with a strong body of men.

Vol. II. B Some

Some French lords bethought themselves to fearch for boats, in order to pass with their retinue. The constable, being informed that a great part of the nobility had already passed without his orders, fent the marshal de Sancerre to keep back the rest; for he did not see how they should be able to resist Peter du Bois, who was much stronger than they; but the marshal, instead of hindering them to pass, passed himself. Clisson, coming up, was terrified at the danger of fo many brave men; and, calling them by their names, said aloud: "Ah, Rohan! ah, " Laval! ah, Rieux! ah, Beaumanoir! " must I see you perish? Ah, Marshal! " what madness hindered you from execu-"ting my orders? It is better for me to " die than to fee fo many of the nobility

" perish."

At the same time, he caused an attack to be made on the side of the bridge, and ordered many darts and bombs to be thrown, to amuse the Flemings. He caused, at the same time, beams and planks to be brought to mend the bridge, and made them work at it with extraordinary speed. Mean-time, there were always some of our people passing in the boats; and, when they perceived their number sufficient for attacking the enemy, they drew up in order of battle. In this state, they marched resolutely against Peter du Bois, who did not expect it. Their charge was so violent, that all that mob was immediately

immediately broken. Peter du Bois himfelf was wounded; and our people, having fitted up the bridge again, passed there, and routed the enemy's whole army. The king was lodged at the abbey of Marquette; where, hearing that agreeable piece of news, he left it immediately, accompanied by his uncles, and took up his lodgings at Comines.

A little after a report was brought him, that the Parisians were in arms, and would undertake every thing if speedy opposition were not made to their rebellion. He held a council on that event; and it was there refolved, that, after passing the river so happily, a certain victory was not to be given up, which would even strike terror in the Parifians; and Charles very chearfully continued his march against the Flemings, without being diverted by those confusions. The inhabitants of Ypres, having killed their governor, submitted to him. Artevelle was in the mean time at the siege of Oudenarde, where he got all at once these bad news; and, what afflicted him no less, he understood that the ambassadors whom he had fent to England to ask succours, were returning without success. Though these accounts gave him much pain, he did not lose courage, and leaving some men to guard the nes, he resolved to march against the king with 60,000 men. He stopped on the road, and incamped in a very convenient place, where

where he entrenched himself to wait the king. Had he persisted in that resolution, our people might have been obliged to fight with great disadvantage; but perceiving himself equal in number, vanity made him take a resolution to fight. He thought he should have the French as cheap as he had the inhabitants of Bruges, and that to conquer, nothing was necessary but to keep close order, as he had done at the first battle. He did not imagine that his opponents were persons of military skill, and not an undi-

sciplined populace.

Cliffon having remarked the disposition of the enemy, came and told the king to fear nothing. These rebels, says he, are our own, and our victory is certain. At the same time he extended two wings from his main body, that when the Flemings should advance, they might be furrounded on all fides. The French all alighted, except 500 horse who were about the king. The Flemings first attacked, and forced the main body, where the king was, to fall back two steps; but the two wings marched undauntedly, and foon furrounded the enemy. Meantime the centre recovering itself, they were furrounded on all hands. They were fo pressed upon one another, that they could scarcely help themselves with their weapons, or with their arms. A great flaughter was made of them, but there were more stifled than hurt with weapons; for as they were very

very close, they were seen falling in heaps,

and stifling each other.

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At the end of the battle, as the king wasearnestly inquiring what was become of Artevelle, a Flemish officer, very much wounded, pointed at the place where he had seen
him among the dead. His body being
found, it was ordered to be hanged up; and
as to the officer, the king intended to have
him cured; but he obstinately refused it,
saying, he wanted to die with the rest, and
that life was odious to him after the loss of
his fellow-citizens. This battle was fought
at Rosebeque about the end of the monthof November.

The duke of Burgundy had great difficulty to hinder the king from putting himfelf at the head of his army, and throwing himself into the midst of the enemy. After the victory was gained, the earl of Flanders came and threw himself at the king's feet, to thank him for reducing his rebellious fubjects. The king answered, he was very glad to have done him that pleasure, but that he was not ignorant of his having been always inclined for the English, and that he must now change his behaviour if he intended to deserve his friendship. The accounts of the victory being carried to the camp of Oudenarde, the inhabitants of Ghent in terror raised the siege. Those of Courtray opened their gates, and the king caused their fortifications to be demolished.

The French, in revenge for the old battle gained by the Flemings over Philip the Fair, near Courtray, burnt a part of the town, that its inhabitants might never boaft of that victory. Those of Bruges likewise furrendered, and gave 120,000 livres\* to avoid the destruction of their town. The inhabitants of Ghent, confounded at their defeat. thought also of a surrender. Peter du Bois asked them what they meant to do, fools that they were, not to perceive that the winter was doing for them, and would foon force the king to retire. He added, that in the mean time fuccours would come to them from England; and that besides they ought not to lose courage at seeing the rest of Flanders under the power of the earl, fince they had always been stronger without the other Flemings than with them; that they should give up all thoughts of peace, since, in the present state of affairs, they could never make one but fuch as was shameful and disadvantageous, and that they might more than ever hope for victory. The inhabitants of Ghent, encouraged by these difcourses, were so far from abating any thing of their old pride, that, on the contrary, they appeared, after so many losses, more haughty and pertinacious than formerly.

The king did not delay his return toward

Paris,

<sup>\*</sup> About L. 5025 Sterling, supposing twenty-four livres equal to a guinea as at present.

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Paris, that he might punish the rebels; and he stopt at St Denys to give thanks to God for his victory, according to the ancient custom. The mayor and deputies of Paris came to pay him their respects, and to asfure him of the perfect submission of the Parisians, and of the joy they should have at feeing their fovereign again in their city. When he was approaching the city, he perceived at a diffance the Parisians all assembled and in arms. It was at first thought they were in arms against the king; but that prince fending heralds to discover their delign, they answered, they came there to appear before the king, that he might know how many thousands of faithful subjects he had, ready to ferve him on all occasions.

The king ordered them to retire, and marched in order of battle straight to Paris, after dividing his army into three bodies, commanded by the constable and two marshals of France. In order to enter the city, the barriers were broken, the gates taken down, and they marched over them. king entered alone on horseback, without the army, attended only by the choice of the nobility, affecting a stern and threatening countenance. The people beheld that entry with terror, and their minds were troubled with fear of the highest punishment. Charles went through the whole city in that equipage, as far as the castle of the Louvre, where he took up his lodgings. The constable caused

caused prohibitions to be published against the foldiers being guilty of any disorders. This was executed with fuch severity, that he caused two soldiers to be hanged at the windows of a house which they had plundered. The king caused punish the chief authors of the fedition, and twelve who were faid to be the most factious were beheaded. among whom were fome who were condemned rather by the revenge of the dukes than for any failure in the king's fervice.

Among others was an old man, named John des Marais, king's advocate before the parliament of Paris, a man of great reputation in his time, who had often quieted the furious populace, and in time of the troubles had accommodated matters to the fatiffaction of the court. He was hated by the dukes from the time of the duke of Anjou, whose party he had taken against his brothers. As he was led to execution, he drew tears from all the spectators, by his piety and constant steadiness. They wanted to oblige him to ask pardon of the king; he answered, he had served the king his father, the king his grandfather, and the king his great-grandfather, and they had never complained of him, and neither would his prefent majesty complain were he come to years of discretion; that, moreover, he did not blame the king for his death, but for asking his majesty pardon, he could not do it, having never offended him.

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After those executions a scaffold was raifed, adorned with tapestry, at the top of the stairs in the palace court, where, at an affembly of all the people, Charles appeared feated on his throne, between his two uncles, accompanied by his brother, the princes of the blood, and the other lords. Then the chancellor d'Orgemont rising up, made, at the king's command, a thundering speech, in which he upbraided the Parisians with the seditions they had raised, both under the deceased and the then reigning king; then extolling the victories and power of the king, whom that turbulent people had irritated, he terrified them so much, that they expected nothing but death. Then the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, with the princes of the blood, threw themselves at the king's feet; at the same time the men and the women with dishevelled hair, and melting into tears, proftrated themselves on the earth, and cried out all together for mercy with loud lamentations. The king, according to what had been previously resolved in council, pronounced his pardon for their lives, and changed their punishment into a pecuniary mulct.

He went also to Rouen, where the same thing was done, as well as in most of the good cities in France. By those means immense sums were raised; and what vexed the people was, that very little of them came into the king's coffers, all being squandered

by the dukes, or rather by their minions. Mean-time the earl of Flanders reduced his towns, and had pacified the principal of them. France was likewife in quiet as to England, by a continuance of the truce; but a new war was kindled under pretext of religion. Urban, who held the pontifical fee at Rome, fent a bull into England, injoining a levy of money and men to fight a-gainst the followers of Clement, and he had intrufted the execution of that bull to the

bishop of Norwich.

This prelate having raised a great deal of men and money, passed the sea with Hugh Caurely, a famous English general, who had under the bishop the chief command of those troops. He entered with an army into Flanders, which he thought more open to his arms, and more in a condition of being plundered, on account of the civil wars. The inhabitants of Ghent joined him; though he knew the earl and the Flemings followed Urban's party, he nevertheless took feveral places, among others Bourbourg and 'Gravelines, where he amassed a great booty. He attempted to take Ypres by affault, but the besieged defended themselves from morning till evening, and at last repulsed him. Mean-time the earl having had recourse to his protector, Charles, that prince marched to Arras with all his army, and immediately forced the English to raise the fiege of Ypres. They took refuge at Bourbourg,

bourg, where the king besieged them. When they faw that the ditch was going to be filled up with faggots, in order to take them by force, they capitulated. Charles agreed to the capitulation, on condition that they should restore Gravelines, and allowed them to retire in fafety with what they could

carry off with them.

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About the same time Oudenarde was taken, and retaken in a furprifing manner. Francis Atremen, a general of the Ghentmen, advanced by night near to that place. An old woman, on hearing the noise, and afterward feeing the foldiers, acquainted the guard. The foldiers, intent on play, looked very fuperficially around the gates, and having discovered nothing, continued their game without troubling their heads. The woman returned, crying with still greater vehemence, that the enemy was at the gate.

The foldiers laughed at her.

Mean-time the Ghent-men came near, and flipped into the fosse which was dry, because it had been fished a little before, and scaled the place. The town was plundered, and the unhappy inhabitants were killed in their beds, without having leifure to know where they were. It was retaken as easily as it had been lost, but in broad day. A French captain sent thither four foldiers difguifed like carters; they coming to the gate, made some stop and confusion there with their carts. At the same time they

town.

drew their swords, killed those who guarded the gates, and letting in the troops who had come up to fustain them, expelled the Ghentmen who were in garrison in the place. Between the taking and retaking of Oudenarde, Louis earl of Flanders died, and left his dominions to the duke of Burgundy his fon-in-law.

It was proposed to marry Charles to Isabel, daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and the marriage was determined, provided the princess were agreeable to the king. She came to Amiens privately, where the king also went incognito. He conceived a liking to her, and the marriage was celebrated and concluded at Amiens with great folemnity. That of Louis, the king's only brother, with Margaret heirefs of Hungary, was concluded at the same time. As he was just about to fet out, he heard that another prince had carried her off; fo he was married to Valentine, daughter of Galeas duke of Milan, and of Isabella daughter of King John.

The inhabitants of Ghent, fatigued with the war, and perfuaded of the duke of Burgundy's good nature, thought they might have a better composition from him than they had had from his predecessor, and deliberated about accommodating matters. Peter du Bois did all he could to hinder them from this, and was even preparing to act by open force, by means of the English, whom those of Ghent had received into their

town. But the honest burghers having resolved on peace, it was concluded. The duke pardoned his subjects, and got them pardoned by the king. Peter du Bois, being frustrated of his expectation, was forced to retire into

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Charles had an ardent desire to pass over into that kingdom, and there to perform some great exploit. For that purpose he equipped the most magnificent and most considerable seet that had been seen in France for many ages. The nobility were at extraordinary expenses. All the ships were painted and gilt; the foldiers and officers were all covered with gold; the rendezvous of the army was at Sluys, where the king was to imbark. The constable had much difficulty to get thither from Brittany, the winds proving contrary. Nothing was wanting but the duke of Berry; but he took very fhort journeys, because he was not for that voyage. He spoke his mind upon it loudly; and as foon as he came to court, he maintained, that fuch an expedition was not to be attempted in the middle of winter. Mean-time, to make his court to Charles, he offered to undertake the voyage with the reft of the army; but declared, that he would not fuffer the king's person to be exposed. The king, on his side, answered, that no body should set out without him; so the expedition was deferred till the month of May of the year following. Many blamed the VOL. H. duke

duke for rendering so great preparations useless; but many likewise maintained, that he was more clear-sighted than all the rest, and that as he knew better the danger of the enterprise, he had done well to desist from it.

Charles returned to Arras, where he heard the parliament had ordered that two gentlemen, John Carrouge and James le Gris, who were both domestics of the Count d'Alençon, should fight it out. The occasion of this duel is remarkable. On Carrouge's return from the Holy Land, his wife threw herself at his feet in tears, and told him, that James le Gris having come to visit her, she had received him like a friend; that she had carried him through all the apartments of the castle, as is done to guests whom we want to entertain civilly; but that at last being arrived with him at the dungeon, in the most retired place, he had violated her, and got away so quickly that she had not been able to get him arrested, but that she had concealed her shame till he should return to avenge her for such an affront; therefore she conjured him to undertake the matter, and to make that perfidious friend fuffer the chastisement which so black an action merited.

Carrouge, justly moved with this complaint, went and laid the matter before the earl, and demanded justice. The earl immediately sent for James le Gris, who stea-

dily denied the fact; he even brought evident proof, that he had been at four o'clock in the morning in the earl's house, and that he had been at half an hour past nine at his levee; so that far from having committed the crime with which he was accused, he could not even have had the time to go and come, fince for that purpose he must have travelled twenty-three leagues in less than five hours. The earl continued persuaded he was innocent, and forbade the two gentlemen to ask any thing more of each other; Carrouge did not fail to carry his complaint before the parliament, who, feeing no proof, ordered that the two parties should fight it out. That was the custom of those times, and they were persuaded that God gave the victory to the innocent; but it was tempting him to think that he should always perform miracles which he had not promifed.

The king, being informed of this decree, ordered the combat to be superseded till his return. As soon as he was arrived, the mortal ground was appointed, (so they called the place of combat), and the king came thither with all his court. The combatants came there completely armed; Carrouge accompanied by the count de St Paul, and James le Gris conducted by the count d'Allençon's attendants. Carrouge, before the combat, came up with his spear in his hand to a mourning chariot, in which was his wife, and said to her: "You see, "Madam,"

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" Madam, that I hazard my honour and my life upon your word; you know whe-

" ther the cause be just; take care then not

" to expose me to an infamous death."
Go," answered she, " fight undaunted-

" ly, the cause is good, and God is on " your fide; for he is the avenger of crimes,

" and the protector of violated chastity."

Then the two combatants placed themfelves at the opposite extremities of the course; whence, pushing their horses, they tilted like men of courage, but without wounding or unhorsing either. They immediately alighted; and, drawing their swords, made several thrusts at each other. Carrouge was wounded in the thigh. When his friends faw his blood running, they made a loud shout, and exhorted him to take courage. His wife, in a fright, redoubled her prayers; for the decree was terrible for her, as the parliament had ordered, that, if her husband were vanquished, he should be hanged after his death, and she burnt alive. But Carrouge, irritated by his blood and his wound, fell upon his enemy, bore him down to the ground, and run him through with his sword. He expired immediately, protesting, as it is said, that he was innocent. The executioner seized him immediately, and carried him to Montfau-

Carrouge being victorious, run to his wife, and both went through Paris, as it were.

were, in triumph, to go and return their thanks to God at the cathedral church of Notre-dame. Some historians assure, that James le Gris was, in fact, innocent of that crime; and that another man, when dying. owned himself the perpetrator of it. Nevertheless, those very writers highly commend the virtue and honesty of the lady, and do not suspect her of inventing the thing out of malice: but they say that she had taken another for James le Gris; which appears highly improbable, not to say impossible.

Whatever be in this, that manner of deciding doubtful matters by combat, was very pernicious; and the popes and councils were in the right, to condemn it as foon as it was introduced. At last, it was quite abolished; and, duels between private per-fons succeeding, Louis XIV. the truly Great, has been raised up to put an end to those detestable combats. Charles, moved with this action of Carrouge, retained him as a gentleman of his bedchamber, and gave him a considerable pension.

In the same year 1386, Charles II. king of Navarre died in a very strange manner. As he was become weak more from debauchery than age, his natural hear being almost gone, the physicians ordered him to be sewed in a linen cloth, dipped in brandy, to give him new warmth. The fervant in waiting took it into his head, for want of scissars, to burn the end of the thread with C 3

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a wax candle, which fet the linen on fire. It was very difficult to get it extinguished, and that prince died some days after with unsupportable pains; but, as an author of that time says, with penitential sentiments. It was he who was called Charles le Mauvais, the Naughty or Mischievous, on account of his perverse inclinations, and detestable actions.

When the spring-time came, Charles was eagerly desirous to accomplish the expedition which had been deferred till that season. He hoped it would be the more successful, that there were great confusions in that kingdom; not then, as formerly, between the people and the lords, but among the lords themselves; because the king's uncles hated his favourite, Robert de Vere, whom he had made duke of Ireland, which divided all the court, and even the council. Thus every thing seemed to favour France, and expose England as a prey to it. Great preparations were making for war, and the constable was in Britany fitting out the fleet.

The duke of Brittany, whose inclinations were English, was angry at that enterprise, and did all he could to disappoint it. power of the constable alone prevented him from being mafter in his own country, and he was afraid that his barons would even deliver him up to the king, if he undertook any thing detrimental to his fervice. Whilst he was muling on these things, he

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bethought himself of making a sumptuous entertainment at Vannes, in his castle of Hermine, to which he invited his lords, and the constable himself. Till then he had never been able to bring the constable to make him a visit, for any promises he could make him, or any passports he could offer him. But, at last, he came thither at that time.

After dinner, he carried the guests through all the apartments; and, when they came to the turret, in which the principal prison or dungeon was, he begged Clisson to go in, and consider some work that he had bespoke, concerning which, he faid, he wished to have his opi-nion, as being a man exquisitely knowing in that science. Clisson entered in security, as fuspecting nothing, when all of a sud-den he saw the doors shut upon him, and he was surrounded with guards. Beaumanoir, the constable's friend, was also arrested. As for Laval, his brother-in-law, the duke told him he might retire; but he answered, that he would not forsake his brother-in-law. The duke was resolved to put Clisson to death, as he reckoned him his mortal enemy. Laval represented to him the baseness of that action. "What do " you mean to do?" fays he to him, "you "shall be the most dishonoured prince in

<sup>\*</sup> Au donjon où étoit la principale tour, so it is expressed in the original.

"the universe. How! when rising from your table, would you shed the blood of a man whom you have invited to your house? Do you not consider that you shall become odious to your own subjects, and bring upon you all the forces of

France?

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The duke was in great perturbation: on the one fide, his hatred to Cliffon inclined him to put him to death; on the other hand, he was staggered by Laval's reasoning. In this perplexity, Laval always earnestly pressed him, to remember that he was a prince, and that he had given his word: that, if Cliffon had places that might be troublefome to him, he might take them, and also his money, but that he ought to spare the life of so great a man, and his own honour. But the duke's fury was excessive, and he had ordered Bavalen, captain of the caftle of Hermine, to throw the constable into the sea in the night-time. Bavalen was wife enough to foresee the duke would repent, and did not execute so barbarous an order. In fact, the day after, when that prince came to himself, he thanked Bavalen for having disobeyed him in that matter. Some days after, on receiving an order from the king to fet the constable at liberty, he made haste to conclude a treaty which he had begun with Laval, by which it cost the constable a great deal of money, and his castles, to the single so that the principal state to

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to purchase his freedom from imprison-

The king and all the court were preparing to pass over to England, when they heard of the imprisonment of Clisson, and the expedition was broke off on that account, All the lords were enraged at it, except the king's uncles; who, jealous of Clisson's interest, rather chose to blame his simplicity, than the duke's persidy. The constable arrived in the mean time; and, throwing himself at the king's feet, resigned his office of constable, as a man who thought himself dishonoured, and unworthy of so great an employment, till he had got justice done him. The king answered, he reckoned that affront as done to himself, and that he would assemble the peers, to advise what was to be done to revenge it.

It was resolved to cite the duke, who did not obey; and, when the king was preparing to force him, by dint of arms, to appear, the duke of Gueldres was so bold as to send the king a written challenge, in which he was so audacious, as to call the king plain Charles of Valois. He did this in order to favour the claims of England on the kingdom of France. Upon this there was a long debate in council, whether the king should go in person to chastise the pride of the duke of Gueldres. The Duke of Berry said, that so inconsiderable a prince did not deserve that France should make such great efforts

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efforts to reduce him; and that it was not becoming the majesty of a great king to make so long a journey on so slight a subject. The duke of Burgundy argued, on the contrary, that the insolence of the duke of Gueldres must be chastised, for an example to other princes of the empire, and that it was of importance to keep Germany in awe.

That duke's counsels had a more hidden motive; for, as he was duke of Brabant, he wished to shew his power to his neighbours, and to make it dreaded: but he concealed this design under the pretext of Charles's glory. The young king, who breathed nothing but war, and thought of nothing but acquiring fame, dazzled with that fair appearance, without disticulty agreed in the duke of Burgundy's sentiments.

The duke of Brittany expected to profit by that expedition, and to fortify himself against the king, during his absence, by bringing the English to enter his country. He was disappointed of that hope, partly by Clisson's exploits, who took some places from him in his own country; partly by the obstinacy of his barons, who had no inclination to the war; so that, after several

with which he had amused the dukes, he was at last forced to come and ask the king's pardon,

promifes given, and feveral negotiations,

pardon, and to restore the constable's places

and money.

Charles then set out on his expedition to Gueldres. When he was on the road, the count de Juliers, the duke's father, came and asked pardon for his son. As to the duke, he persisted in his haughtiness, till he saw the army of France hard by his territories. Then a negotiation was set on soot. The duke disowned the letters of defiance which he had written, but he would never depart from the alliance which he had with England.

Mean-time the duke of Burgundy obliged the king to pardon him, and to bring back his army out of the country. Every body blamed him for having made the king take so long a journey, in order to return home without doing any thing but receiving a compliment. After the king's return, a solemn council was held at Rheims, concerning the government, in which the cardinal of Laon represented, with much eloquence, the miserable condition of the kingdom, and the confusion of affairs, which were going to wreck every day; because those who managed them thought of nothing but enriching themselves, or promoting their creatures. He showed, that the only method of restoring the kingdom was for the king to take the government upon himself, seeing he was now in the twentyfirst year of his age. Charles followed that advice.

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advice, and paid his uncles a compliment of dismission. He afterward began to be intent on business, and to govern in person his almost ruined dominions.

## BOOK X.

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## CHARLES VI.

When three years truce which had been concluded. The English were divided among themselves. Richard, disturbed by his uncles the dukes of York and Glocester, had been obliged to dismiss the duke of Ireland, his favourite. The duke of Lancaster, his third uncle, was intent on the war of Castille, claiming that kingdom as his own, in right of his wife, daughter of Peter the Cruel. As that war required a numerous army on that side, the forces of England were divided; so that, finding business either at home or in Spain, she left France in tranquillity.

Mean-time, Charles was intent upon improving and regulating his kingdom, and had established a council, by which the people had begun to be sensible of some relief. He had received the complaints which the provinces of Languedoc and Guienne had made to him, against the terrible exportions of the duke of Berry, their governor;

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and had promised to remedy them on his return from the journey which he was propoling to Avignon, on the pope's invitation. Before he fet out, he wanted that the queen should make her entry into Paris. He difguised himself, and rode, on the same horse, behind Charles de Savoisy, one of his gentlemen, and mingled with the populace to fee that ceremony. On his return, in the evening, he passed many jokes on the strokes that he had received in the croud. The courtiers laughed at them with him out of complaifance; but, in the main, they were forry to fee him debase the majesty of a king by such levities.

He then went to Avignon, where he made his compliments to the pope in a very fubmissive manner. The pope likewise did him all possible honours, and gave him a feat by him, but a little below his own. There young Louis, eldest son of the deceased duke of Anjou, was crowned king of Sicily, by the pope, though he possessed nothing in that kingdom, and his mother had scarcely preferved Provence for him.

The king left Avignon, and went into Languedoc; where, intending to do justice for the duke of Berry's oppressions, he deprived him of his government. He caused also to be seized for his malversations Berissac. the duke's treasurer, whose effects were confiscated to make restitution, and himself condemned to death. Charles regulated the af-VOL. II.

fairs of that province fo well, that the fame of it spread every where. By that conduct this prince gained the hearts of all; and, in every town where he made his entry, he was received with incredible admiration and applause. He was handsome in person, lively and agreeable, extremely gentle and liberal. This made him deserve the appellation of Charles the Well-beloved; and, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, he enjoyed always the hearts of his subjects to the end of his life.

Whilft he was in Languedoc, he became desirous to make a visit to a prince so renowned as Gaston Phœbus, count de Foix. He was received by him with all the politeness and magnificence possible. The court proposed several kinds of exercises for the diverfion of the king's retinue. The king, dexterous in every thing, carried the prize in all those different exercises, even in that of throwing the javelin, which he had never learned; but, fatisfied with the honour, he gave another the crown of gold promifed to the conqueror. The count did him homage for the county of Foix; and it is faid, that count fecured the fuccession of it to the king after his own death; for he had loft his only fon by the most melancholy adventure that ever happened, and had no lawful children.

That young prince had gone to vifit his mother, who had fallen out with her husband, and had retired to her brother the king of Nayarre. This was Charles called the Mischie-

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a strong hatred against the count de Foix; and, seeing the young prince on the point of returning home, he took him aside to tell him how grieved he was that the count was so much alienated from his wife; adding, that all kind of methods must be contrived to reclaim that proud and headstrong man. At the same time, he put into his hand a small bag, and told him, that, if he found an opportunity to make his father take what was in it, he would be immediately reconciled with his wife, and that she would be in greater savour with the count than ever.

Gaston (that was the young prince's name) thanked his uncle heartily, and went away in raptures at the treasure which he thought he was carrying with him. He had a bastard brother, called Yvain, of the same age and stature as himself. Their servants one day changed their cloaths, and gave those of Gaston to Yvain; who, surprised to find in his brother's waiftcoat the small bag, which he kept always tied to it, according to his uncle's orders, asked Gaston solicitously what it was. Gaston, without making answer, was angry with him, fretted, and redemanded the imall bag with extreme impatience. Some time after, as the two brothers were playing at tennis, they had a difference, and Gaston, in anger, gave the other a box on the ear. Immediately, Yvain being provoked, upbraided him with the finall bag which he was fo particularly

ticularly careful to conceal, and made fo much noise that the thing came to the count's ears.

As his fon was ferving him at table, according to his custom, he perceived the small bag, which he pulled away, and asked what it was. The young prince was much confounded, and the count ordering what it contained to be given to a dog, the creature died instantly. Upon that the count fell into an extraordinary passion, and the lords had difficulty to hinder him from putting his fon to death. He ordered him to be put in prifon; and the poor child was plunged into fo deep a melancholy, that he could never be brought to eat. The count being informed of it, came to him and threatened him; and, raising his arm, as if he designed to give him a fevere blow, he gave him a small scratch on the throat, with an instrument with which he had been just cleaning his nails. A few drops of blood iffued from the fcratch; and the poor child, weakened with grief and despair, having neither ate nor slept for a long time before, was so terrified, that he expired in a moment. I know some historians have infinuated, that his father caused his head to be cut off, but I have followed the most faithful and best informed.

Charles, on leaving the count, returned to Paris with incredible speed, without any necessity; for, when he came to Montpellier, he made a wager with his brother, the duke de Touraine, who should arrive first at Paris.

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They set out accompanied each with a single person; to wit, the king by Garancieres, and the duke by Vieuville, and made the journey partly on horseback, partly in a chariot, when they wanted to rest themselves. The duke was but four days and eight hours in coming from Montpellier to Paris, and the king arrived there only four hours after, having rested eight hours in the night-time at Troyes \* in Champagne; so he lost the wager, which was for 5000 gold franks †. He was much blamed for this inconsiderate behaviour; but his youth was his excuse, and his ardour for great exploits seemed to cover all his smaller desects.

All the conversation at that time was of Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, of his valour and his conquests. Charles, moved with his same, had an extraordinary inclination to make war against him, and to meet him hand to hand in a battle. With this view, he did all in his power to make peace with England. The duke of Lancaster came to France to treat of it; they separated without bringing it to a conclusion; but a truce was made for some years, which, being often prolonged, made the two kingdoms enjoy a tranquillity resembling a peace.

At court great complaints were made of

<sup>\*</sup> While the king was fleeping, the duke came down the Seine, in a boat, from Troyes to Melun.

<sup>†</sup> About L. 1312, 10 s. Sterling, supposing 24 livres for a guinea, as at present.

the duke of Brittany, who neither complied with the decrees of parliament, nor with the king's orders. Charles having gone to Tours, he was ordered thither, and he gave little fatisfaction to the council, and to Clisson, who had the chief power. He was fecretly supported by the two dukes, who were returned to court, but with far lefs interest than before; and who envied the great power of Cliffon, whose destruction had been vowed by

the duke of Brittany.

He employed, with this intention, Peter de Craon, a man of quality, mischievous, artful, and bold in enterprise as well as execution. He had ferved Louis of Anjou, king of Sicily, who, in his extreme necessity, had fent him from Italy, where his affairs were ruined, to ask some money from his wife. But Peter, having heard in the way that his mafter was dead, kept great part of the money. Wearied out with law-fuits by the queen-dowager of Sicily, he found means to infinuate himfelf into the favour of the duke of Touraine, who had been created duke of Orleans in 1392. He devoted himself to him, and became the confident of all his secrets, and even of his amours. But, as he failed in fidelity to him, he dismissed him from his family, and got him banished from court.

Abandoned on all hands, he had recourfe to the duke of Brittany, and joined him in the defign of destroying Chisson, to whom he attributed his disgrace. He had a house at

Paris,

Paris, whither he secretly sent, from time to time, trusty men. When they were thirty or forty, he went thither in person. One evening, when the plot was on the point of execution, information was brought to the duke of Berry, that Peter de Craon had affembled some people at his house, and that he had a grudge against the constable. The duke answered, that he would not disturb the king at that hour, and that he should tell him the thing the next day. That fame night, while the constable was going home, very late, from the king's quarters, who was then lodged at the hotel de St Paul, near the convent of the Celestin monks, he perceived his fervants attacked all at once, his torches put out, and his person surrounded. He, at first, suspected nothing else, but that it was the duke of Orleans joking with him, as usual; but he soon heard a voice threatening him with death. He, like a foldier, refolutely asked who was he who spoke to him in that manner? " It is," said one, " Peter de "Craon;" and, at the same time, he felt himself struck on the head, and fell from his horse backwards against a door, standing half open, in the street Culture Sainte Catherine, whither the mafter of the house hastened, and brought him into his house. Peter de Craon and the murderers left him for dead, and betook themselves to flight. The king was immediately alarmed, all the court in confusion, and the king ran hastily to him; but, when

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the physicians examined the wound, they affured him it was not mortal.

Charles, moved with that outrageous attack, as if it had been made upon his own person, wrote to the duke of Brittany to deliver up to him Peter de Craon, who was known to have taken refuge with him. He denied the fact; and Charles, irritated to the highest degree at that answer, prepared for war with extreme keenness. Mean-time, the parliament outlawed Peter de Craon, confiscated his effects, caused his house to be demolished, and put some of his accomplices to death. Much about the same time Charles restored the duke of Berry to his government.

As soon as the constable was well, the king, accompanied by his uncles and him, advanced in the heat of summer, by long marches, into Brittany, without taking any rest either day or night, and thinking of nothing but vengeance. His head was continually filled with the insolence of the duke of Brittany, and of the attack made on Clisson, which he reckoned as done to himself. At last the excessive toil and heat of the season threw him into a fever, and he was obliged to stop at Mans. He employed that time to send a second time to demand the criminal, with orders still more pressing and more rigorous than the first.

The duke, without being frighted, thought of nothing but gaining his barons; and though he found them not much disposed to support him against the king, he could not

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resolve to obey. Charles provoked more than ever at his disobedience, and no longer able to endure any delay, hastened his departure against the advice both of his uncles and his physicians; and though he could hardly eat, fo weak and over-fatigued was he, yet he maintained that he was well, and that nothing could give him relief but marching. In that state he went on horseback in the middle of the day in excessive hot weather, and in a dry fandy country. All his retinue, diffressed with heat, went on either fide of the road, by separate paths, to avoid the dust. It happened that the king passing through a little wood, a tall pale man took his horse by the bridle, and faid to him, Stop, O king, thou art betrayed. He was taken for a madman, and was never afterward heard of.

The king continued his journey with his head full of the man's faying; and some steps further a page who was carrying his spear, having fallen asleep, let it fall on the helmet of his comrade who was near the king. At that noise, Charles, weakened in mind and body, imagined there was fome mischief intended against his person, and drawing his fword, he began to purfue at full gallop those two pages, who were fleeing before him. His brother coming up familiarly to him in his usual way, he wanted to kill him as well as the others. All his men fled before him; and that prince purfued them with loud shouts, till fatigued and quite spent, he was seized and brought

brought back to Mans, fo diffracted and frighted, that he neither knew others nor himself.

It was suspected at first that some poisoned draught had been given him, and the officers who ferved him with drink at his meals were interrogated; they were found innocent; and the duke of Burgundy faid loudly, that bad counsel was the only poison the king had taken. That discourse was meant of the constable, who, by incensing the king against the duke of Brittany, had, faid he, confused his brain, and had overwhelmed with business, and with the cares of a tedious war, the spirit of that young prince, which was before too violent. The affairs of the kingdom were fettled, and their governments restored to the king's two uncles, because the duke of Orleans was still too young. To the duchess of Burgundy was given the management of the queen's household, and the principal authority about her; which occasioned much jealoufy in the duchefs of Orleans.

The new regents began first with attacking Clisson. As, at the time he was wounded, he had made a will, in which he had disposed of immense sums, the duke of Burgundy accufed him of having diverted the funds deftined for carrying on the war, of which he had the disposal in quality of constable. He was very fensible of his danger; and that great man, after performing such considerable services to the state, was forced to retire into Brittany, that is to fay, into the country of his most in-

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veterate enemy. The parliament condemned him for contumacy to perpetual banishment, to pay 100,000 marks \* of silver for his extortions, and to lose his office of constable.

The duke of Orleans would not be present at that sentence, and he always professed a great deal of friendship for the constable. At the same time, such as had had any share in public affairs were seized; the duke of Berry wanted in particular to revenge the death of Betissac, on the lords de la Riviere and de Noviant; but, softened by the remonstrances of the duches his wife, he did not second the duke of Burgundy, who had likewise vowed the destruction of those two ministers.

Mean-time the king was cured by a famous physician, who recommended strongly not to overburden with business a mind that was still but weak, a prescription which his uncles very willingly followed. The truce with England was prolonged for two years, by means of the duke of Lancaster, who, busied with the affairs which he had in Spain, wanted to have no war with France. As all the people were at that time in the highest ecstasy for the recovery of the king, who gathered strength every day, the public joy was interrupted on a very slight occasion.

At the marriage of one of the queen's daughters, which was celebrated at Queen Blanche's palace, a ballet was proposed, where

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fix men disguised like savages or satyrs were to dance, of whom the king would be The duke of Orleans, who knew nothing of this, came into the affembly with his ufual levities, and put a torch near to one of those savages, in order to discover who that mask was: but the cloaths took fire; and as all the favages were tied to each other, the flame spread over the whole. Some threw themselves into a tub full of water, others, affifted too late, were scorched by the fire, and died some time after, as Yvain, the count de Foix's bastard. There was difficulty to fave the king; and he went some days after to the church of Notre-dame, to return thanks to God, amidst the acclamations of all the people, who were charmed to fee him delivered from that danger.

Mean-time Cliffon defended himself valiantly against the duke of Brittany, who was making war upon him; and his interest was fo great among the lords of that province, that the duke could never obtain their affiftance against him. At court the king and the duke of Orleans his brother had ardently asked for him, notwithstanding the resistance of their uncles, who could never prevail to get a fuccessor named to him in the office of constable; but Clisson having received an order from the king to return to court, he refused to obey it, well knowing there would be no fafety for him, as the king's understanding was so weak, and the hatred of his

uncles so implacable, and it was upon that refusal that the dukes of Berry and Burgundy got him declared a rebel, and forfeited of the honours and privileges of the office of constable, as has been said.

Charles intended at first to bestow the office of constable on Equerrand de Couci, a man famous at that time, who had formerly refufed that great employment on the death of Bertrand du Guesclin, and had advised to give it to Cliffon, as to the most deserving. He refused again to take the place so deservedly filled by fo great a man; and Philip count d'Eu, a prince of the blood, whom the king's uncles supported, was made constable, the 31st of December 1392. Some time after, Cliffon, by the mediation of the barons of Brittany, was reconciled with their duke, and peace was also made between that duke and king Charles, whose daughter Jane was given in marriage to the duke's form a middle still a louismi

What is most remarkable on that occasion is, that the duke, at his coming to court about that marriage, left the government of his state to Clisson; the friendship between them was then restored on a solid footing, and besides that great man gained very high respect and considence. The king relapsed into his distemper, so much more to the affliction of all his people, that the physician who had cured him was dead. He broke out even to sury against all such as came near him. He could not endure to be treated like a king, and broke Vol. II.

the arms of France where-ever he found them in his house. He neither remembered his wife, nor his children, nor himself, and neither suffered nor knew any body but Valentine duchess of Orleans.

Many believed that he was bewitched, and attributed inchantment to the duchess. They proceeded even to that excess as to inquire for magicians to take off the charms, and fome of them having deceived even the court by mad promises, were punished for their impostures. But discerning people made no doubt but the cause of so strange a malady was the fatigue and uneafiness which the affair of Brittany had occasioned to the king, and the disorders of his youth. The duke of Burgundy was accused for having suffered him to follow his own inclinations from excess of complaifance, and for having brought him up in effeminacy, that he might leave the management of affairs to him; a pernicious advice, of which it is hard to suspect so great a prince. Theo of polines and in about the state at

At that time Hungary was almost quite ruined by the victories and power of Bajazet. King Sigismund, brother of Wenceslaus king of the Romans, sent to demand succours from Charles with great earnestness. He had from time to time good intervals, and received that embassy very favourably. Moved by the missortunes of that kingdom, he resolved to send the constable thither with a strong army. John count de Nevers, son of the duke of Burgun-

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dy, who was twenty-two years of age, defired to command it, and easily obtained that favour by his father's means. Couci joined

him, with many other lords,

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On their arrival in Hungary, they were fuccessful at first, and besieged Nicopolis, a city of Thrace, fituated on the Danube, which made a vigorous defence. At that siege Couci defeated 20,000 Turks with a handful of men; and the constable being jealous, blamed him for being too adventurous. Mean-time Bajazet approached with a numerous army, making long marches, and extremely defirous of coming to action. The king of Hungary fent to propose to the French to suffer the vanguard of the Turks to be attacked by his troops, who were more accustomed to their manner of making war than the French. He told them, he hoped to beat it without much difficulty; that then they should all together attack the main body, which was the strengh of the army, and should easily defeat it after the first disorder. Couci immediately said, the king gave a very good advice, and that it must be followed.

The constable provoked because he had spoke first, contradicted his opinion out of jealousy. He said the Hungarians wanted to have the glory of the day, and that it was difgraceful to the French to have come fo far in order to receive such an affront. "Let us " fight then," concluded he, " and not wait "the Hungarians; we have courage and

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" ftrength fufficient to conquer the enemy all " alone." On that our people were encouraged, and engaged without waiting; and at first they killed a great many of the Turks, but they were not able long to keep their advantage, and were at last overpowered by mul-Phace, finished on the Dans titudes.

Sigismund fell to exclaiming, that the rashness of the French had ruined all; and at the fame time perceived his own troops, to the number of 60,000, betaking themselves to flight without fighting. Almost all the French were killed, but not unrevenged; for twenty or thirty Turks were feen lying about each of our people. John count de Nevers, Philip d'Artois, Couci, and several other persons of distinction, were prisoners. Bijazet intended to put the young count to death. It is faid, one of his diviners prevented his doing fo, faying, that he alone should do more mischief to Christendom than Bajazet with all his forces. But fuch predictions are usually spread, or rather invented too late; and what faved the count, was Bajazet's expectation of profit by his ranfom. He faved likewife the lives of the conftable, of Couci, and some others, He brought all the rest of the prisoners, one after another, to have their throats cut in his own presence, notwithstanding the doleful lamentations of all the French, who were not able to prevail with him to fave them.

Such was the state of our affairs in Hungary. In Italy the city of Genoa submitted

to the king, being no longer able to bear the divisions of its own citizens, nor the oppresfion and violence of its neighbours. In England there were great troubles. Richard suffered much by the seditious humour of his people, and their continual infurrections, fomented by the duke of Glocester. He had therefore thoughts of strengthening himself by an alliance with France, and asked in marriage Elisabeth the daughter of Charles, who was then but seven years of age. The uncles of the two kings, that is to fay, the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Glocester, negotiated the peace together; and though the latter received the magnificent presents which the king made him, he was not the more tractable on that account. He faid the French were too fubtile, and involved things fo in ambiguous words, that there was nothing in treaties but what they wanted to have in them.

At last Richard, wearied with so tedious a negotiation, and wanting absolutely to have the princes, resolved to put an end to so many delays; and as they could not agree upon the articles of peace, he concluded a truce for thirty years. A place was likewise agreed upon where the two kings should meet, and where Charles should bring his daughter to Richard. This interview happened at Ardres in 1396, with great magnificence and cordiality between the two kings. Charles, who at that time was in good health, appeared.

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very polite and very fensible to Richard and to the English, and he received from them all possible marks of honour, getting every where the first place, which Richard constantly refused, even in Charles's lodging when he vifited him.

Mean-time the prisoners in Hungary, having paid their ranfom, returned to France. The constable only died at Micalizo in Natolia. His office was given to Louis de Sancerre marshal of France, and Boucicaut was made marshal. The count de Nevers related to Charles and all the court what Bajazet faid to him when he difmiffed him : " I know," faid he, " that you are a great lord, and fon of a " great lord. The shame of being beat will " move you some day to renew the war; but " I will not ask your word not to attempt " any thing against my empire; go and tell " every where that Bajazet waits here those " who shall dare to attack him, and that, in " fine, he is resolved to subdue all the " Francs, (this is the name given by the " orientals to the Christians of the west), and " to make his horse eat on St Peter's altar."

Such were the menaces uttered by Bajazet: fool that he was, not to foresee the misfortune prepared for him by Tamerlane king of the Tartars, who, entering his country, defeated him, took him prisoner, and shut him up (if we are to believe some authors who have written that history) like a wild beaft in an fron cage; he led him about in that manner from

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from town to town, and that prince died at last of grief and despair. The young count told also, that Bajazet had spoken much to them of the divisions of Christendom, which destroyed it past remedy; and that he ridiculed the folly of the Christians, who suffered so long those two popes, whose quarrels occasion-

ed fo great troubles to the church.

At the same time Charles and the other princes applied themselves seriously to put an end to that schism, and Bajazet's conversations animated the zeal of all the court; but there were no hopes of curing fo great an evil, if extraordinary remedies were not employed. For after Clement VII. elected at Fondi against Urban VI. had transported the see to Avignon in the reign of Charles V. on the death of those two popes, the fuccessors chosen to them supported the two parties. Boniface IX. was put in place of Urban, and Benedict XIII. in that of Clement, upon condition however that he should renounce the papacy if the cardinals of his obedience thought it necesfary for the good of the church. Mean-time the two parties making always new popes, the schism was perpetuated by those elections, and no end was feen to the division.

Charles, to remedy so great an evil, caused the clergy of France to be assembled, and that assembly resolved to oblige the two popes to yield the pontificate, in order to make a new election, by the consent of the two parties. France, which embraced that decree, brought

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over other kingdoms to the same opinion. Wencessaus king of the Romans and of Bohemia came to Rheims to have a conference with the king concerning the means of restoring peace to the church. Charles when hunting went to meet him as far as two leagues from the city, and there received him magnificently.

That prince, who was addicted to wine, had, besides, no inclination becoming his birth and dignity; he was little esteemed in France. Charles, however, was fatisfied with him, because he was very intent on procuring peace to the church; promising, not only that Germany and Bohemia, but likewise his brother, the king of Hungary, should follow the sentiments of France. The king dismissed him with magnificent presents, contrary to the opinion of the duke of Burgundy, who faid, that all those liberalities were needless, and that it must not be expected that the Germans should keep their word. The king of England entered into the same design; but all the arguments Charles could use with the two popes, by his ambassadors, he could never obtain any thing from them but promises, and no performance, though the cardinals of both parties had agreed in his fentiments.

When it was evident that those methods were to no purpose, France came to this severe resolution, of withdrawing their obedience from either pope. But even that proving in vain, the marshal de Boucicaut, who

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was at Avignon, had an order to use force against Benedict, who appeared the most obstinate, and to make himself master of the town. The people abandoned Benedict, and forced him to retire into the castle, where Boucicaut besieged him, and reduced him to strange extremities, but he would never submit.

During that time, the duke of Glocester had raised new troubles in England. He decried as much as he could the king, his nephew, saying that he was unfit for government, and that he disregarded the affairs of his kingdom, provided he had his ladies and his pleasures; that, far from making war on the French, like his predecessors, he had suffered himself to be gained by their money, and that his favourites had been corrupted by the same methods, to deliver up Calais to them. By these discourses he animated all the nation against Richard, especially those of London; and he had even conceived the design of putting another king in his place.

Richard, on discovering that plot, caused the duke to be seized at London; and, getting him afterward transported to Calais, he there put him to death. That action provoked every body against Richard. It was said, that, if the duke of Glocester, by so wicked an attempt against the king, had deserved death, he ought not to have suffered without being tried. What were not private persons to dread, if the blood and dignity of an uncle

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of the king had not been able to fave him from an unjust and precipitate death; and what must be expected after that, of a prince of so violent a temper, but that he should put to death the good and the bad according

to his fancy?

The dukes of Lancaster and York, though they disliked their brother's designs, were very much irritated at his imprisonment, and fell into the most violent passion when they heard of his death. But Richard justified the thing so strongly, and so openly, that they were forced to yield. So, when their power was humbled, the king began to reign more imperiously than any of his predecessors had done. The people were provoked at it, those of London, especially, complained that the ancient privileges of the kingdom were abolished; and every thing had a tendency to war, if the malecontents had found a leader.

When things were in this condition, Henry, earl of Derby, fon of the duke of Lancafter, being abused by the king, and expelled the kingdom for a private quarrel, retired to France. The citizens of London, who were extremely fond of him, endured his absence with great impatience. On the duke of Lancaster's death, Richard seized his effects, which completely exasperated against him the Londoners, and all the English. From thence was formed a faction pernicious to the king and to the nation. Those of greatest interest in that party, during Richard's

chard's absence, who was busy in the reduction of some part of Ireland, privately recalled Henry, who had taken the title of duke of Lancaster. As soon as he arrived in England, all the lords and all the common people

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Mean-time, Richard had finished the conquest of Ireland, and returned with a victorious army, perfuaded that, at his arrival, the malecontents would be diffipated. The contrary happened; and, his army difbanding, he was forced to retire into one of his castles. Lancaster appeared before it; and, as they durst not refuse him admittance, he carried off Richard, whom he shut up in the tower of London, where the duke of Lancaster was declared king, under the name of Henry IV. with the unanimous consent of the lords and commons. The duke of York alone opposed it, as claiming a right to the crown, which occasioned in the sequel long contests between those two families. All this passed so quickly, that Charles could not give any affiftance to Richard.

Much about that time, the emperor Wencessaus was deposed, by decree of the electors, as an indolent prince, and incapable of government. In his place was elected Robert of Bavaria. When the accounts of Richard's imprisonment were carried to France, the king, moved with the misfortunes of his fon-in-law, relapfed into his disease more violently than ever. But he was informed, a Confantin

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little after, that he had been killed. Whether Henry had ordered that to be done, or had only permitted and concealed it, is not certain. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux, who loved Richard, were fenfibly moved with his misfortunes, which caused a suspicion in England that they might furrender to the French; but they continued in their fidelity, because they were kindly used, and because they saw their neighbours, who were subjects of France, abused and oppressed by their governors.

Henry, who loved war, and despised the strength of France under a weak king, did not, however, fail to prolong the truce, as he did not fee his own affairs sufficiently fettled. The young queen of England was fent back to her father, with all her jewels, and all the portion she had got. The duke of Brittany died, and the duke of Burgundy marched into that province, from whence he brought into France the new duke, fon-inlaw to the king, after putting French garri-

fons into all his fortified places.

There came, about this time, an embaffy from the queen of Denmark, demanding a daughter of the blood-royal of France for her fon, thinking thereby to procure an extraordinary advantage to the family of Denmark, by an alliance which would make its princes descend from so great and heroic a race. The duke of Bourbon promised his daughter, who died, however, before the marriage could be completed. Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, ofinit

Constantinople came into France in the year 1400, to demand fuccours against the Turks. Charles went to meet him, and they entered Paris abreaft. The emperor was received with a magnificence becoming the grandeur of the two princes; but, if much honour was done him, France was not then in a condition to give him great affiftance.

A jealoufy having arisen between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and their quarrel being come almost to the last extremity, the affair was deferred rather than terminated by the mediation of their friends. After that peace, the duke of Orleans, who defired nothing fo much as to fignalize himfelf by fome bold action, in order to avenge the death of Richard, fent to challenge the king of England to a combat of 100 men of each fide. Henry answered, haughtily enough, that he received no challenge but from perfons of his own rank; that kings did not fight by way of oftentation; and that they did nothing but for the public weal; and that, moreover, he wished the duke were as innocent, with respect to the king his brother, as he was with regard to king Richard. Afterward, during the absence of the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans took his opportunity to procure for himself a grant of the government of the state, which wisemen disapproved; because, even though they loved that young prince, who was handsome, agreeable, and witty, they did not think his judgment of Vol. II.

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judgment ripe enough for so weighty an administration. diega amonoul bosmood ot, oo, t

In fact, as foon as he had the fole power, he beliaved with much passion, and laid out extraordinary expenses to satisfy his own ambition, and the avarice of his fervants. He wanted even to impose new taxes, alledging the consent of his two uncles; but the auke of Burgundy difowned the fact by a public writing, and the edict was revoked. From that time the duke of Orleans was always in bad humour with his uncle, instigated thereto by Valentine, his wife, and by the young

people who advised him. while add , sound that

Amidst those divisions happened the death of the duke of Burgundy, who was much regretted by all good men; because, though he had his failings, he supported the government by his power and his prudence. John, his eldest son, succeeded him. The same enmity that had sublisted between the uncle and the nephew continued between the two coufins. John, of a temper haughty, bold, ambitious, who wanted to ingross the whole authority, weakened, at the first, the influence of the duke of Orleans, and powerfully established his own by a double marriage, giving his own daughter to the dauphin, and procuring for his fon one of the king's daughters. He gained the hearts of all the people, because he publicly opposed all the taxes which the duke of Orleans wanted to agreeable, and witty, they did not thilldefts indemicati

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The great interest of the duke of Burgundy augmented the jealousy which the duke of Orleans had conceived against him, so that he contrived to strengthen his party by a strict union with the queen. Charles was in a condition which might have even excited the compassion of his enemies. Sometimes he was like a furious person, but most frequently he was stupid and prodigiously insensible; his body over run with ulcers and vermin, a thing which cannot be thought of without horror; and they were obliged to use force to get him kept cleanly. He had intervals of recovery, and governed his kingdom as he could, but always very weakly.

The queen and duke of Orleans, wanting to get affairs into their hands, feized the time of the duke of Burgundy's absence, to carry off the dauphin to Melun, and to govern in his name during the king's imbecillity. As they were on the road, up came the duke of Burgundy, well attended, and carried back the young prince to Paris. That action brought the difference between the two princes to the highest pitch. They took to arms on both fides, and the troops committed terrible diforders about Paris, especially those of the duke of Burgundy. But at last they submitted to the judgment of the duke of Berry, the king of Sicily, and the other princes, and the affair was accommodated, but their minds were not quieted.

Those domestic broils were followed by a

war with the English. On the expiration of the truce, the French made a vigorous attack on Guienne. As the constable d'Albert, who had been raised to that office in 1402, after the death of Louis de Sancerre, had made himself famous by some advantages which he had gained in that province, the duke of Orleans, defirous of glory, wanted to go and command there. By his negligence, the proper season for war was suffered to pass, and persons of prudence advised him to defer the enterprise till the following year; but that inconsiderate prince preferred to their opinions the countels of the young people of his own age.

On his arrival in Guienne, he terrified the inhabitants of Blaye, who, having promised to furrender, on condition that the duke should also take the town of Bourg, he thought nothing would be hard for him. But he found some resistance at Bourg; he fuffered great inconveniencies there by the continual rains; the men were in the mire up to the belt, sickness broke out in the camp; and all the military gentlemen ridiculed the prince for enaging himself so unsea-

fonably in that enterprise.

Their contempt turned into hatred, when they faw they were not paid, and that the duke publicly gamed away their money. Then, not knowing what to do, he attempted in vain to gain the besieged by money. He was at last forced to raise the siege with

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great shame, and remained exposed to the derision of his enemies, and especially of

the duke of Burgundy.

That duke, on the other side, intending to besiege Calais, and necessaries for that purpose failing, he accused the duke of Orleans of neglect. So the animosity and hatred of those two princes against each other augmented continually, and their reconcilitation was never sincere. Frequently, by the mediation of the princes, they interchanged mutual promises, and sent to each other the badges of their orders of knighthood, according to the customs of those times, as a mark of inviolable friendship. They even swore to the peace on the sacrament, when they were communicating together; but all that was of no avail.

The duke of Burgundy, by a horrible and wicked attempt, resolved to get rid of the duke of Orleans; and, for that purpose, hired affaffins, who maffacred him the 23d of November 1407, at eight of the clock in the evening, in the old ftreet of the Temple at Paris, as he was coming out, with a few attendants, from the queen's apartments, which were then at the hotel Barbette, of which there still remains a gate in that street. As foon as he faw armed men appearing: with drawn fwords, he thought he could stop them, by crying out that he was the duke of Orleans. They answered, that he was the person they wanted; and so that prince . F 3. peer

was affaffinated in the most cruel manner imaginable. Court and city were terrified at fo horrible an affaffination, and the mayor of Paris had an order to cause make, in all the palaces of the princes, strict inquisition for the murderers.

The duke, troubled with the remorfe of his own conscience, finding, in the king's apartment, the duke of Berry and the king of Sicily, took them aside, and owned to them that it was he who had committed that wicked action. They detefted his crime, and bid him retire. The duchess of Orleans came with her children, and threw herfelf at the king's feet, to demand justice from him, and filled the court with her complaints.

Mean-time, the duke of Burgundy had arrived at Lise, where, hearing that some had expressed their joy at the death of Louis, far from asking pardon, he was so audacious as to justify the action. He came himself to Paris with that intention; and, in the affembly of the princes, where the dauphin represented the king, who was ill, he caused it to be maintained, by John Petit doctor of divinity in Paris, that the duke of Orleans was a tyrant, a declared enemy to the king and kingdom; that no good man ought to fuffer him to live, and himself less than any one, connected as he was with the king by fo many ways; feeing he was of the bloodroyal, being doubly a peer, and dean of the peers; for he was earl of Flanders, and first peer

peer of France, in quality of duke of Burto demind julilee. The king revolutioning

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The doctor, to prove what he had advanced, accused the duke of Orleans and his wife of having bewitched the king; and it was true, that prince, in his youth, from a criminal curiofity, frequently confulted those who called themselves diviners and forcerers. Petit added, that Louis had caused the dauphin to be poisoned; that he had plundered the kingdom, and intended to usurp it. He forgot not even the unlucky ballet of the favages, nor the fire put to their cloaths by the duke's imprudence, which he called a malicious and wicked attempt. By these false allegations, he maintained that that infamous affaffination deferved a recompense; and then he turned about to the duke of Burgundy for his approbation a bad out moder at the third

John openly approved the discourse, as pronounced by his order. An impudence fo horrible, both on the part of the duke and his doctor, fruck terror into all good men; and in the mean time the king, recovering fomewhat from his diftemper, pardoned the duke, fo deplorable was his weakness even in his best intervals, and so formidable had the duke of Burgundy rendered himself to

the other princes of the royal family.

After that John marched to Liege, to defend the bishop, Louis of Bourbon, against the inhabitants of that principality and bishopric, the Ligeois. The queen, during

his absence, brought Valentine from Milan to demand justice. The king revoked the pardon granted to the duke of Burgundy, and ordered him to be tried according to the rigour of the laws; but when the news came that he was returning victorious, and coming ftraight to Paris with his army, Charles, feeing the Parifians favourably disposed to the duke, went to Tours with the queen and chin to be polioned; that he had blinded

John entered Paris amidst the acclamations of all the people, and immediately he fent ambaffadors to Tours. They were very well received there, and the king began to wish that the affair were accommodated. The duchess of Orleans died deploring the misery and poverty of her children, and pitying no less than her own children John her husband's baftard, in whom she had always remarked much understanding, and a great courage: she faid, that he was alone capable of avenging the death of his father. This was that famous count de Dunois, from whom is defeended the family of Longueville, illustrious for the services which it has formerly done to the state: it is within this short time quite extinct the and in bas , ala mount thought be

The young princes were no longer able to profecute their affair after the death of their mother. The king went forward to Chartres.

Charles Paris d'Orleans, last duke of Longueville; was killed at the paffage of the Rhine in 1672; he had an elder brother who was a priest, he died in 1694. zid

John going thither, begged his majesty's pardon for what he had done for the good of his person, and of the state; so he spoke of his execrable deed. The dauphin and his wife, John's daughter, having interceded for him, Charles ordained that one of the duke of Burgundy's daughters should marry Philip count de Vertus, second brother of the young duke of Orleans, and moreover prohibited them to demand any thing of each other. The young princes, fensible of the king's weakness and their own, were obliged for that time to acquiesce in that sentence; and thus the court which had been agitated by the diffensions of the princes, had a small taste of tranquillity.

At that time a council was held at Pifa, to put a stop to the schism. Benedict, closely besieged and straitened by Boucicaut in the castle of Avignon, as we have already said, suffered with invincible courage the sad condition to which he found himself reduced, and having at last escaped, he retired into Arragon, where he was acknowledged. He there restored his affairs, and brought over many nations to his party. He was even anew acknowledged by the French, who began to have a scruple about withdrawing their obe-

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At Rome, on the death of Boniface IX. Innocent VII. and then Gregory XII. were raifed to the pontificate. After diverse negotiations between Gregory and Benedict, as there.

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there was no expectation that either of them would renounce the papacy, though they had often promised to do fo, most part of the Christian nations refused them their obedience. The cardinals of the two colleges affembled at Pisa, where, by common confent, and by authority of the council, they deposed the two popes as schismatics, and elected Peter of Candia, a cordelier monk, archbishop of Milan, and doctor of divinity in the university of Paris, who was called Alexander V. They thought by that means to stop the schism, but on the contrary the evil increased; instead of two popes they made three, and so Christendom was divided into three parties, with an animofity greater At that time a council was bel. srobed nant

During that time the city of Genoa revolted against the king. Boucicaut was governor of it, and had obtained great authority over the citizens, and among his neighbours. When he left the city to affift the duke of Milan and count of Pavia, who had put themselves under the king's protection, the marquis of Montferrat their enemy, in order to make a diversion of the forces of France, came and besieged Genoa, which he entered by means of a correspondence with the Dorias and the Spinolas, two powerful families of that city. All the French were butchered. The senate sent to ask the king's pardon, and threw the blame on the populace, which had, faid they, been driven to that violence by the ether te tyranny

tyranny of Boucicaut. It is true, he kept fomewhat of a strict hand over the Dorias and the Spinolas, whom he knew inclined to rebel; but as he was no less prudent than valiant, he governed his affairs with much equity. But some other Frenchmen, by their licentious and passionate behaviour, made all the nation odious to the Lombards.

In France the quarrels of the princes were renewed. Charles trusted to the queen the government of the kingdom, and appointed her as counsellors the dukes of Berry and Burgundy. He put also the dauphin into the hands of the last, who thought that by that means he should become absolute master of the kingdom to which he had always aspired. The duke of Berry and the duke of Bourbon were so jealous of him that they retired from court. The princes of Orleans expected to find some support in that division, and joined the duke of Berry. The duke of Brittany and count d'Armagnac embraced the same party. It was called the party of the Orleannois, of the family of Orleans, which the Parisians called the Armagnacs, because the count d'Armagnac had many troops near Paris, who made great desolation.

The confederate princes wrote in common a long letter to the king against the duke of Burgundy. Strong preparations for war were made on both sides. The duke of Burgundy had about Paris a great many men, who were pillaging all the country, without the duke's

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giving any redrefs. The king commanded the Orleannois, the favourers of the family of Orleans, to lay down their arms, and difband their troops. They did not obey that order; but the winter being near, the count of Savoy took that time to negotiate a peace, and accommodated matters, on condition that all the princes should remain at home, and not come to Paris, nor to court, unless the

king ordered them thither expressly. bewegen

That agreement vexed the duke of Burgundy, who had always in his mind the defign of governing the state. A little after the king changed its government, and gave it to some bishops and lords. They intended to give it up to the dauphin, but the duke of Berry opposed it on account of the prince's youth. The peace lasted not long. The princes of Orleans complained that the council was composed of the duke of Burgundy's partifans, and demanded to have them difmissed. That demand renewed their enmis ties. They fent to challenge John to a private combat. He answered very insolently, after his usual manner, always vindicating the affaffination. The war broke out again, and the duke of Berry entered into it, with the fame princes that had followed him the first time. Charles ordered the duke of Burgundy to be obeyed, who raised a great army, with which the king in person went, accompanied by the dauphin, to beliege the princes pillaging all the country, without asgricedin privin

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During those civil wars foreigners attempted nothing, and the truce continued with the English, pur the kingdom in quiecon that fide But that confideration did not hinder the king of England from fending succours to the duke of Berry, who had demanded fome from him. A little time after a peace was made in spite of the dake of Burgundy, who used strange menaces against the inhabitants of Bourges; for having at first burns their fuburbs, he deftined all that town to fire and fword, and he was already beginning to reduce to dust by his batteries the houses and walls; but the dauphin was informed that he ought not to fuffer him to ruin a city which would one day be his inheritance; because the duke of Berry had no male iffue. He told his thoughts pretty fmartly to the duke of Burgundy, and loudly complained of him as the author of the civil wars. The duke being furprifed, durft not proceed, and from that time an accommodation began to be the subject of discourse. There was an interview between the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, separated from each other by a buschers, fomented underhand by the Cliar

It was a memorable sight there to see the duke of Berry, at seventy years of age, in complete armour, who, as soon as he saw his nephew, told him, that his father and he were not wont to visit each other with those precautions. There was not, said he, any rail between us, and we always lived in perfect good unleven us, and we always lived in perfect good unleven. You. II.

derstanding. When they entered upon their fubject, he faid, that neither he nor his men were rebels to the king, who was not in a condition to command any thing; that if he had been well, he would not have fuffered the death of his brother to pass unpunished; that besides that war did not concern the king; that it was a private quarrel among the princes, in which the state had no share; that they had a power to affemble and to march their troops under their own private command, without troubling the peace of the kingdom. This was the duke of Berry's defence. He added, that the only fault he had committed was shutting the gates of Bourges against the king and the dauphin, and that he most humbly asked them pardon for it.

After some conferences the peace was made, on condition that the treaty of Chartres should be executed, with this alteration, that the duke of Orleans was to marry the duke of Burgundy's daughter, because Isabella his wife, the king's daughter, had died in childbed in 1409. Mean-time the royal authority being weakened by the king's infirmities, the butchers, fomented underhand by the duke of Burgundy, raised confusions at Paris, and a great part of the populace joined them.

Much noise was made about a long petition presented by the university concerning the diforders of the state. That company meddled about that time too much in the affairs of the state, on account of the weakness

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of the government, and of the respect paid fo great a body revoltib steroel and lie ser or

A little after the king of England had a dangerous illness, in which, falling into a fainting-fit, his fon thought he was dead, and took the crown then lying on his bed, (for that was the custom, kings then wore it always, or at least they had it by them). The king recovering from his faint, asked for his crown, which he no longer faw beside him. Henry his eldest fon told him freely, that as he thought him dead, he had taken it, as being its lawful heir. " How should you have " right to it," answered the king, " fince " you know I never had any myself?" To this the fon replied, "You got it by arms, " and it is likewise by arms that I intend to "keep it." "God will judge me for it," faid the king, " and I pray him to have mer-"cy upon me." He expired faying these words. Henry V. of the name entered upon possession of the kingdom, and had himself crowned at London. ... where the series were a constant to the control of the con

At Paris the butchers and other rioters came to the dauphin, and infolently demanded fome of his fervants, whom they intended to have punished. They called them traitors to their country, and accused them of all the disorders of the state. They were forced to deliver them up to that furious faction, so enraged was the populace, or fo terrified the court. The dauphin threw the blame of this on the duke of Burgundy, and bid him order

to see all his secrets discovered, and the dauphin provoked against him. His fears were heightened when he saw that prince, who till then was guarded by the Parisians, intrust himself to be guarded by the Orleannois.

The rioters nevertheless were daily gathering fisength, and taking a white bood as a badge of the faction; the king and the dauphin were forced to imitate them. They returned fome time after to the number of 12,000. He who commanded them, and was their speaker, publicly upbraided the dauphin with his corrupt morals and bad education. He was even fo audacious as to give him a lift of fixty persons who were dety of them were delivered up, among whom was Louis of Bavaria, the queen's brother, and the archbishop of Bourges, her confessor. The dauphin redemanded them with tears, and especially the duke of Bavaria, but his intreaties were in vain. Monto I to bonword

The university of Paris, seeing that things were driven too far, and there were no longer any measures kept, separated from the rebels. They were so powerful that they got their insurrection approved by letters patent. But at last honest men, wearied out with so many confusions, joined the dauphin, and he made himself master in Paris, and liberated the prisoners. When the duke of Burgundy perceived his party ruined, he endeavoured to

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carry off the king, under pretext of an airing to Vincennes, to which he had engaged him. But being disappointed in that attempt, and seeing all his plots discovered, he retired into Flanders.

After his difgrace, the duke of Orleans expected some justice to be done to him for his father's death, and took off his mourning, which till then he had worn, though his father had been fix years dead. John duke of Brittany came to court. There was a dispute for precedence between him and the duke of Orleans. They were both dukes, and both of the royal family; but the duke of Orleans being nearest to the king, the first place was adjudged to him. The count d'Alençon, a prince of the blood, was created duke, in order to give him the precedence before the duke of Bourbon, who, though more remote than he from the crown, had the right of precedence over him by his title of duke.

The duke of Burgundy wrote to the king on the false suspicions which he said were entertained of him, and to the great cities, on his daughter the dauphiness being abused, and on the dauphin's being kept in servitude. When he perceived the people were moved by those letters, he marched to Paris with his army, and told every where that the dauphin had wrote for him. Several persons believed it was so; but whether the thing were false, or the prince had altered his mind, he ordered his father-in-law, by the king's authority,

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and the king fent his declarations against him through all the kingdom.

The profecution for the duke of Orleans's murder was begun anew with more ardour than ever, and mass was said for him, which formerly had not been attempted, from fear of the duke of Burgundy. The king was present at it in an oratory, without being in mourning. The funeral oration was pronounced with universal applause by John Gerson, chancellor and a celebrated doctor of the university of Paris, a man very eloquent for that age, and strongly in the opposition to the duke of Burgundy, because he could not endure the audaciousness with which he justified his crime.

The duke of Berry made mayor of Paris, Tanneguy du Chastel, sormerly a great friend of the duke of Burgundy, and at that time his declared enemy, a man extremely bold, and who had personned great actions at the war. Immediately he disarmed the Parisians, and took away the chains laid across their streets. Those of the duke of Burgundy's party, who had so heavily oppressed the Orleannois, were in their turn harshly treated. The king of Sicily sent back with contempt Catherine, the duke of Burgundy's daughter, whom his son was to marry.

Charles gave the dauphin the government of the kingdom. The duke of Berry taking this amis, on account of the youth of the

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prince, complained of it to the parliament. That body answered, that affair was none of their business, and that it belonged to the king to order it by the advice of his great council; so the king's council was called.

Charles marched afterward with the dauphin against the duke of Burgundy, and took in paffing Soiffons, which held out for the duke. He took also Bapaume; and las he was befieging Arras, the counters of Hainault, the duke of Burgundy's fifter, came to the king, gained the dauphin, and made a peace. It was not very advantageous to the duke, who was obliged to restore Arras, and in the pardon granted to those of his party, 500 were excepted; but it was glorious for the king, and necessary for the state, because there was reason to dread the English. The truce with England was near expiring. Henry fent an embaffy to Paris, to demand in marriage Catherine the king's eldest daughter, and to make proposals of peace. Charles found himself thereby obliged to fend the archbishop of Bourges ambassador to England, to show that he would be very glad that the marriage of his daughter should tend to unite the interest of the two crowns. When Henry gave audience to the prelate, he charged the archbishop of Canterbury to declare in his name, that with the king's daughter he wanted to have in full fovereignty Normandy, Guienne, and all that the English had formerly possessed in France; but if not, that the

the war should be everlasting, and that he would never put an end to it till he had driven the king out of his kingdom. The division among our princes, and their irreconcileable hatreds inspired the English with that

haughty behaviour.woodla bedaram astando

The archbishop answered, that he was surprised they should make such strange demands from him; that the king his master wished for peace, but was not asraid of war; and that Henry, who threatened to drive him from his kingdom, should see himself driven from all the territories which he possessed within the French dominions. After making this answer he took his leave, and returned home.

The king of England landed in Normandy, with a numerous army; and, after a long siege, took Harsleur, a strong place at the mouth of the Seine, which, by that situation, was, as it were, the key of Normandy. Charles called all his nobility, and appointed the rendezvous of the whole army at Rouen. whither he went with the dauphin. He wrote likewise to the duke of Burgundy to fend his troops. Those in the administration could not endure that he himself should be called, or that he should come near the king, lest his power should be hurtful to their interest: besides, there was reason to be apprehensive of the bad intentions of a prince so turbulent and fo dangerous. He answered, that he was ready to come and command himfelf

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himself his troops in the royal army, but

Mean-time, there were coming from all quarters men for the king; and the English, frighted to see an army more numerous than their own marching against them, thought of nothing but to get to Calais; but the passes perplexed them, and they were in want of every thing. They were in no less difficulty how to behave, in order to get the Somme passed. Our people guarded the passage of Blanquetaque; with so strong a body of troops, that it was not probable they should be able to drive them away; but they themselves imagining that the English had passed at another place, abandoned their post, and lest them the river free.

The two armies met at Azincourt, in a very straitened place. The French were marching dispersed here and there, without any precaution, despiting the small number of the English, but in places so strait, they were incommoded by their multitude. Our household troops were so straitened, that scarcely had they room to draw their swords. They were likewise very much fatigued with having continued all night on horseback, and with being heavily armed. The archers, to the number of 10,000, who might have made a great impression in a larger space, had not then room to extend themselves, and to shoot.

In that condition, the king of England attacked;

attacked; the cavalry, in diforder, was broke on the front, and this upon the rear. All the army was put in a panic, every one left his rank, without being restrained either by shame or by respect for their officers; so, in a moment, the whole was routed. D'Albret, the constable, and the duke of Burgundy's two brothers, the one duke of Brabant, and the other count de Nevers, were killed, with many other princes and great lords. Henry was in great hazard in that battle; for, as the duke d'Alençon was about to kill the duke of York, whom he had wounded and laid on the ground, Henry run up to affift his uncle; the duke d'Alençon struck him on the head, and cut off the half of his crown. At the same time the guards fell upon him; and, as he was wanting to surrender, he was run through with many wounds. Many lords of distinction were killed in the battle, but many more were butchered afterward. all the state of the state of

Henry perceiving, after the rout, some small bodies of our men making a show of intending to renew the battle, commanded every one to kill his prisoners. There was made a great slaughter of our disarmed men, imploring, in vain, the pity and sidelity of the conquerors. The English, after the victory was secured to them, when spoiling the dead, found the duke of Orleans very much wounded, and half dead. The king of England, on seeing the prisoners at Calais, declared

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dered clared to them that he believed he owed his victory to God's intentions of punishing them for all their excesses; for they had spared neither things sacred nor profane, and there was no kind of crimes which they had not committed.

The duke of Burgundy was informed at Dijon of the death of his two brothers; for which he appeared to be comforted by the imprisonment of the duke of Orleans, by the death of the constable, and that of the other princes, of whom the most part were his enemies. He offered, however, to join Charles with 30,000 men, to avenge their death, and the affront put upon France; but those in the administration of affairs, in order to remove him from court, got the prohibition of the prince's approaching to Paris renewed; and, as he was hesitating whether he should obey, the dauphin proceeded so far as to menaces. This did not hinder him from coming and plundering the neighbourhood of Paris, and pillaging the town of Lagny. But the king's troops obliged him to retire shamefully into his county of Artois. Thus, retiring from France, he caused challenge the king of England to a combat, and fent him his gauntlet, according to the custom of the time : or nextree hou had has not so

Henry did all he could to appease him; and answered, that it was not his men who had killed his brothers; that he should rather blame the French, by whose hands they had died.

died; that, befides, he was not proud of the victory which God had given him, and that he did not pretend to compare himself in any thing with so great a prince as the duke of Burgundy. Thus, by foft words, he kept up the divisions of France, and appealed the anger of that prince, who, possessed of an ambitious spirit, and of a desire of revenge, concluded, some time after, a treaty with England. Mean-time, the dauphin, Louis, died in 1415, very little regretted by the French, because they saw him always shut up in the most retired places of the palace, with some of his domestics, as if he had avoid ed the fociety and fight of mankind; befides, they dreaded his debauchery, his haughriness, his particular humour, and his rough and crabbed temper.

During those troubles the emperor Sigifmund laboured to put an end to the schifm, with the affiftance of the kings, and especially of Charles. For that purpole a general council was held at Conftance in Suabia. John XXIII. who had fucceeded Alexander V. and whom the greatest part of Christendom acknowledged, had folemnly convocated that affembly, and had promifed to submit to its decisions. The emperor was present in person, and had undertaken to terminate that affair. He was afraid, that, by the election of a new pope, the divisions of Christians might be increased, as had happened at Pifa. In order then to procure the confent of all the Christian

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Christian nations, he made an expedition into Arragon, to oblige the king to submit to the council, and to the pope, who should be therein elected, and give up Benedict, to whom he paid his obedience.

He passed through France, where he was received with all the honours due to fo great a prince. He went to the parliament of Paris, where the king was pleased to order that he should hold his place, which, however, was taken amis. That day the queftion was concerning an eftate, which no one could possess if he were not a knight. As the gentleman who was demandant was not so, and was about to lose his fuit, Sigismund caused him to approach; and, making him a knight in open court, he then caused the estate to be adjudged to him.

The king's council thought that action too bold: it was faid that was doing an act of fovereignty, which the emperor ought not to attempt in a foreign kingdom; and the parliament was blamed for having suffered it; but those who spoke so did not reslect that the king was not the only person who created knights; and that, in his own kingdom, the French princes, or those who were at the head of armies, and sometimes even queens, bestowed the order of knighthood: and indeed they were attentive not to allow the emperor to perform acts of imperial jurisdiction in the territories of France. When he want-

ed, at Lyons, to create Amé count of Savoy Vot. II. H

a duke, the king's officers opposed it, and obliged him to go and perform that ceremo-

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Sigismund having remained some time at the court of France, went afterward to Calais, to treat with the king of England of the peace of the two kingdoms. The French rejected the proposals, and would not even consent to a truce. They were not for that more careful about the war, and lost the opportunity of retaking Harfleur, which was in want of every thing. Mean-time, the duke of Burgundy, according to his first intention, had always in view making himself master of Paris, of the king's person, and of the administration. While he was contriving these things, an opportunity offered of supporting the Parisians, who were already much inclined to his fide. New taxes were impofed, by which the minds of the people were more irritated than ever against the king's council.

Their minds being thus exasperated, the duke was so successful by his emissaries, that those of his faction resolved to seize the king's person, to kill the queen, the duke of Berry, the king of Sicily, and, in fine, all those in the administration. They chose Good Friday for the execution of that detestable project, fo much was respect to the laws, and to religion, extinguished in their minds. God ordered it otherwise; the plot was discovered, and the authors of the sedition were punished,

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nished. A little time after, John duke of Berry died, and gave place to the duke of Burgundy more openly to claim the government of the state. He went to Calais under pretext of visiting the emperor there, and doing him homage for the county of Burgundy, but his defign was to make a fecret agreement with the king of England. At the same time, not to omit any thing, he made his peace with John, become dauphin by the death of Louis, his elder brother; he did not include in that treaty the king of Sicily, with whom he would have no agreement, remembering always the affront which he had done him in fending back his daughterding stow holder were railed

Sigifmund, feeing that he could not accomplish a peace between the two kings, continued his journey, and returned to Constance. It was then that, passing through Lyon, he wanted there to create the count of Savoy a duke, as we have remarked. The dauphin John died, and the duke of Burgundy's measures were broken. His hopes being ruined on that fide, he prepared anew for war. He wrote to the towns letters, by which he bound himself, if they joined him, to moderate the taxes, to restore commerce, to redress abuses; and to do all the other things which those are wont to promise, who make the public good serve for a pretext to their own interests. Hell Money Bon , mobanis one

Chalons, Rheims, Chartres, Troyes, and H 2 many

many other considerable towns surrendered to him. His partisans were guilty of seditions and murders every where; there was no town but was disturbed by cruel internal divisions; every thing was allowable to such as declared themselves Bourguignons, Burgundians; and, under the name of Armagnacs, every one rid himself of his enemy. Thus did France tear her own bowels.

Mean-while, Louis, king of Sicily, died; and the duke's power was augmented, because he had no more competitors in the royal family. All the power was in the hands of the count d'Armagnac, a man of resolution, but very odious to the people, on account of the excessive taxes which were raised. All the towns about Paris surrendered to the duke of Burgundy, who, at that time, declared that the government belonged to him alone, on account of the king's impediment, (for so they spoke of the king's frenzy), and of the youth of Charles the dauphin, who was scarcely sourteen years of age.

The English, willing to profit by the divisions of France, landed in Normandy with 50,000 men. The French were then forry for letting slip the opportunity of making peace, and wanted to endeavour to bring it about by all means; but the English, seeing that France was destroying herself with her own hands, were not content with a part of the kingdom, and thought themselves already in possession of the whole. They took Hon-

fleur

fleur and Caen, and some other places in Normandy.

The count d'Armagnac let them be doing, and refifted only the duke of Burgundy; who, on his fide, had no thoughts of repulfing the enemy, nor of defending his country; but of gaining towns, fomenting feditions, and augmenting, as much as he could, the forces of his party. With this delign. he joined the queen: Charles had banished her to Tours, and caused a gentleman to be drowned, with whom it was pretended she had more familiarity than was proper. John gave that princess an opportunity to escape out of the hands of her keepers; he favoured her retreat, and conducted her to Chartres. He then endeavoured to enter Paris by force; but it was not easy, to bring down the count d'Armagnac, who could make a defence, and who had on his fide the name and authority of the king. So the duke was repulsed, and retired to Troyes, from whence the queen wrote to the great towns, as regent of the kingdom. She made Charles dake of Lorraine constable, and seized all the king's revenues. Amidst those divisions, the English, who met with no opposition to their conquests, took Evreux, Falaise, Bayeux, Lifieux, Avranches, Coutances, and fome other towns. it sheeped , sixolves bear office moges

Mean-time, the emperor, as we have faid above, had returned to Constance, and had got the authority of the council fo well acknowled-

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ged every where, that all Christians were agreed to submit to it. Things being in this state, the fathers elected for pope Martin V.; and that deplorable and scandalous schism, which, for the space of forty years, had occasioned for many evils to Christendom, was happily ended. As the French had much contributed to the peace of the church, the pope intended likewife to contribute to that of France, and fent two cardinals to treat of an accommodation between the king and the duke of Burgundy. The treaty was concluded, and the peace proclaimed, in spite of the count d'Armagnac, who, unfortunately for himfelf, opposed it. The duke of Burgundy's party gathered strength every day; and, at last, one gate was opened for him, by which he ordered his men to enter, and made himself mafter of Paris. The leaders of the faction went straight to the hotel de St Paul, where the king lodged, and carried him to the Louvre, into which they put a strong garrison. They would likewise have secured the dauphin, if Tanneguy du Chatel had not prevented them, and taken that young prince in his arms, while fast asleep, and carried him out of Paris. The mutineers made a terrible Daughter of the Armagnacs; they would not even give them burial: they were, faid they, excommunicated persons, because the constable had followed the party of Benedict XIII. As to him, he took refuge in a burgher's house.

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When an order was proclaimed by found of trumpet, to give him up on pain of death, the man in whose house he was hid, discovered him. He was killed immediately after, with Henry de Marle, chancellor of France. The queen entered Paris attended by the duke of Burgundy, and fent to invite the dauphin to come and stay with her. He answered, that he would pay her the highest respect; but that he could not refolve to return into a city fullied with fo many crimes, and stained with the cruel murder of fo many great perfonages. The duke of Burgundy himself was no longer master of the people whom he had raised. Thus a populace which has once broke through the restraint of obedience, takes fire, like an unruly horse, and becomes formidable even to those who pretend to conduct them.

The duke of Burgundy, who had taken upon him the government of the state, remained at Paris with the king and queen. The dauphin on his side retiring to Tours, resolved to make war on the duke of Burgundy, by the advice of Tanneguy du Chatel, and he took the title of regent. The English were continuing the conquest of Normandy, and besieged Rouen. The besieged being very much straitened, sent to ask succours of the duke of Burgundy, and for want of assistance they had thoughts of a capitulation. As the king of England would give them them no terms but to surrender at dis-

cretion,

cretion, they resolved to make a breach in their walls, then to leave the town with their wives and children, and to make good their way through the enemy's camp after setting fire to their city. When Henry was informed of this resolution, he gave them a capitulation on honourable conditions.

After the taking of so famous a city, the English were persuaded that they might make a peace as advantageous as they pleased. An interview was negotiated between the two, kings. The king of England was to some to Mante, and the king of France to Pontoise; Meulan which lies between those two towns was chosen for the place of the conference. Charles could not come there because he was ill, and the queen came in his place. She had always the first place where ever she was, even at home.

Henry wished ardently to have in marriage Catherine, whose beauty had captivated him. The French offered to put matters in the fame state in which they were by the treaty of Bretigny. The English would not accept. those offers, and made such unreasonable propofals, that the duke of Burgundy could no longer bear their pride. It was impossible to conclude any thing, chiefly because many of the places which the English demanded, and which were offered to them, were in the dauphin's possession. That prince perceiving that there was a treaty of peace on foot with England, in order to put a stop to the accommodation anima

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dation, caused also proposals to be made from him to the duke of Burgundy, and sent Tanneguy du Chatel to invite him to a conference. It was held in an open field, and the two

princes swore to an everlasting peace.

A short time after the conference at Meulan, the English took Pontoise. The dauphin fent back Tanneguy du Chatel to Troyes to invite the duke of Burgundy to a new conference at Monterau-faut-Yonne. John hesitated long whether he should go, and at last resolved on it. As he was coming near to it, he met some of his men, who told him that every thing was too advantageous for the dauphin at the place of conference, and that they did not advise him to expose himself there. He stopped and held his council, in which some were of opinion that he should proceed, and others diffuaded him. He knew not what to refolve; at last he cried out, that he could not believe that a dauphin of France, heir of fo great a crown, could be capable of breaking his word, and committing a wicked He added, that even though he were to die, he chose death rather than to give occasion by his diffidence to renew the divisions of the kingdom.

The lady de Giac whom he loved, and who was in his company, encouraged him much, and pressed him to go to the conserence. At last, when he came to Montereau, the castle was delivered to him for his security. Leaving there the greatest part of his retinue, he pro-

ceeded

ceeded with a few attendants. As foon as he had paffed the first barrier, Tanneguy came to him, and told him with a fmiling countenance, that his royal highness expected him, and was quite ready to receive him. He passed another barrier, and perceiving it shut and locked behind him, he was afraid. He then faid, looking at his attendants, and laying his hand on Tanneguy's shoulder, Here is the person in whom I confide. When he approached the dauphin, he bowed very profoundly, and kneeled down before him according to the custom. It said man al al or

The dauphin looking upon him contemptuously, said nothing but what was harsh; and a gentleman cried to him rudely, Rife, your are but too respectful. When he rose, his sword was not to his liking, and putting his hand to rectify it, some body cried out again, How! draw a sword in presence of his royal highness! At the same time Tanneguy gave the signal, and cut off his chin with a stroke of a battleaxe, the rest finished him. Archibald de Foix, lord of Noailles in Bigorre, and brother. of the captal de Buch, wanted to defend the duke, and was killed with him. Thus died a wicked prince by a wicked action, which is. to be regarded as an effect of the divine justice, which had deferred to that time the punishment of the detestable affassination committed twelve years before on the person of the duke of Orleans. The period of the state of the state

It is faid he was betrayed by his own mi-Arefs. stress, and this suspicion arises from her having been with the dauphin some time previous to the duke's death, and from her retiring to his royal highness after that event. This may teach princes how little they ought to trust such kind of persons. After so horrible a persidy, the dauphin, for his own justification, wrote to the towns, that the duke had spoken insolently to him, and that he had even attempted to draw his sword in his presence, which had obliged his attendants to kill him.

All the care that was taken to disguise this wicked action did not hinder it from being detested by every body. The dauphin's counsellors were abhorred for abusing his easiness of temper and youth, and making him violate the public faith by so abominable a murder, especially whose birth obliged him more than any one else, to respect that common connection of mankind. The king, instigated by his wife, condemned by an edict his son's crime, and prohibited all the towns to obey him.

Philip, furnamed the Good-natured, fon and successor of John, came to ask justice from the king, and got permission to make up matters with the king of England, in order to avenge his father's death. After making his own private agreement, he made that of France with England, by the assistance of the queen, by bringing about a marriage for Henry with Catherine. By this agreement Charles declared the dauphin unworthy

worthy of succeeding him, on account of the affaffination he had committed. He settled the king of England regent of the kingdom, and gave him the management of affairs, of which his usual impediment did not permit himself to take the charge. Finally, he acknowledged him for his successor, leaving likewise the crown to his children, even though he should have none by Catherine.

One cannot here help deploring the condition of France. Her king calls in foreigners, old enemies of the French name, and makes them mafters of the kingdom, to the prejudice of his own fon. The duke of Burgundy, a prince of the blood, who had so near a right to the crown, takes that right from his own, to give it to a foreign family, and himfelf procures the authentic confirmation of the injustice done him. However, the good-natured French, who knew the ancient fundamental laws of the monarchy, were not influenced by this fettlement of the king. They knew that he had not power to dispose of his kingdom in favour of foreigners contrary to the fundamental laws of the state; and befides, it feemed very unreasonable that Charles, who was not in a condition to govern his kingdom, should be in a condition to give it away: ba ,inbmoine stavile

After the marriage was completed, the king and queen were observed to be forsaken by every body, having about them only some old domestics to serve them, whilst all the power

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and honour of the royalty were possessed by the king and queen of England, and the towns were every day coming to do them homage. The dauphin was called to the marble table, that is, the high constable's court, for the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and declared, by decree of parliament, incapable of succeeding to the kingdom. He appealed from that decree to the point of his sword; that is to say, he intended to support his right by arms.

Henry went over to England thence to bring men and money. The duke of Clarence his brother, whom he had left governor of Normandy, advancing into Anjou to fight the Dauphinois, the dauphin's party, was beat and killed, with the duke of Somerset, and many other lords. Philip duke of Burgundy fought more successfully: the Dauphinois at first had the advantage; but the duke rallying 500 horse, recovered the battle, and routed the enemy, after taking two knights with his

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Henry, on his return from England with 24,000 archers and 4000 horse, took Meaux after a long siege. Catherine his wife was delivered of a son; but that so fortunate and glorious king fell sick a short time after, much regretted by all his people, and died in the midst of his victories, and in the strength of his age, whilst he was meditating the conquest of the rest of France, which he already possessed almost entirely. When he Vol. II.

perceived his last hour approaching, he settled the government of the two kingdoms, and recommended above all things to those to whom he left the power, never to displease the duke of Burgundy, and not to break with him for any confideration whatfoever, because all the wars of France depended on the

friendship and fidelity of that prince.

Henry's death was foon followed by that of Charles. He died at Paris the 21st of October 1422, as unhappily as he had lived. In his forlorn state he preserved no remains of his former majesty. Charles his son and lawful fuccessor was at a great distance; his funeral pomp was every way deplorable; no princes of the blood were there feen in mourning, according to custom. Most of them were prisoners in England, the rest were dispersed here and there, as they detested a foreign government. In their place was feen a foreign prince, the duke of Bedford, brother of the deceased king of England, who styled himself regent of the kingdom.

At the 'end of Charles's funeral service, the herald was heard with grief proclaiming, God give peace to the scul of Charles VI. king of France; God grant a bappy life to Henry VI. king of France and England, our sovereign lord. All honest Frenchmen groaned at hearing 1 foreigner named, instead of the lawful heir of the crown, as if with the king the whole royal family had been buried. Every one's mind was full of the misfortunes into which France

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## BOOK XI.

## CHARLES VII.

ly, near to Puy in Velay, of the death of the king his father; and though he had disinherited him, he did not fail to bewail him. He was crowned at Poitiers, till he could, according to custom, get himself anointed at Rheims, which was in the possession of his enemies. He had gone some days before to Rochelle, where the ceiling of the chamber in which he was holding a council falling down, he had like to have been killed, but, by a particular protection of God, he was but slightly hurt.

This prince was only possessed of Touraine, Berry, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Forêt, Dauphiné, a part of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, the country of Aunis, in which Rochelle is situated, and some other provinces beyond the Loire. On this side he possessed some castles, and the rest of the kingdom was in the hands of the English. The dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were united against him, with the duke of Bedford, who took the title of regent of the kingdom. This last had

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married

married Anne, fifter of the duke of Burgundy, and their union being strengthened by that alliance, they were making great prepa-

rations against their common enemy.

Many little battles were fought at first, in which the advantage was fometimes on one fide, sometimes on the other; but there was afterward a great battle near to Verneuil, in which the French were beat. The count de Boukam, constable of France, was killed, the duke d'Alençon was taken, with many other lords. The king loft in that battle four or five thousand men. Arthur earl of Richmond, brother of the duke of Brittany, and brotherin-law of the duke of Burgundy, whose fifter, widow of the dauphin Louis, he had married, was made constable. In so unfortunate a state of Charles's affairs, the quarrel which happened between Philip duke of Burgundy and Humphry duke of Glocester gave him some hopes, because he thought it might be an opportunity to Philip to come off from the Englifh.

Jaqueline of Bavaria, countess of Hainault, of Holland, and of Zealand, a woman bold and imperious, after the death of the dauphin John, her first husband, had married John duke of Brabant, a cousin of the duke of Burgundy, a man weak of mind and body, whom she soon despised, as thinking him unworthy of her, and remembering her first marriage. Separating then from him, she married the duke of Glocester. Philip had espoused

espoused the party of the duke of Brabant his cousin, and the duke of Bedford had not been able to accommodate that matter. Charles chose that time to get peace proposed to the duke of Burgundy; but he would hear nothing unless Tanneguy and the others who had had a share in the assalination of his father were removed.

Richmond made afterward various pro-posals, which did not succeed at that time, because Philip's mind was too much exasperated, and too full of the defire of revenge. The constable was more successful in making peace with the duke of Brittany his brother, and that reconciliation was of great advantage to the king's service. Richmond was a very good subject, but he wanted to be master. After the removal of Tanneguy, Giac had got the principal ear with Charles. The constable was so audacious as to carry him off out of his bed, and out of his wife's arms, into one of his estates, where getting him tried by his judge-ordinary, he had him drowned. The king, though very much provoked at that action, did not punish it as it deserved, either from weakness, or rather from the wretched state of his own affairs.

The year following, 1428, the English befieged Orleans, a very considerable city on the river Loire, by which they might enter the country which the king possessed. At the beginning of the siege, the earl of Salifbury, who commanded at it for the English,

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standing on a little height to view the place, one of his officers said to him, There you see your town at one view. Whilft he was hearing these words, he was carried off by a stone shot at him out of a cannon. The fiege however was continued, and the town was fo straitened, that it offered to the duke of Bedford to furrender to the duke of Burgundy, on condition that he should keep it for the duke of Orleans then prisoner in England. Bedford refused the proposal, and wanted to have the place for himself. At the same time he sent, under the command of Fastol\*, an English knight, a great convoy to supply the camp with provisions. The French commanded by the counts de Clermont and de Dunois, marching to defeat it, were themselves de-feated with great loss near to Rouvray-Saint-Denys. That battle was called the Herring battle, on account of the Lent provisions which they were carrying to the English camp at that time of abstinence. Such was the piety of our ancestors, who, even in time of war, never dispensed with the fast prescribed by the church.

Orleans was in extremity; the king's troops were ruined and discouraged by so many losses; there was no money to levy more; and every thing seemed desperate, when there came to court a young girl between eighteen and twenty years of age, who faid, that God had

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<sup>\*</sup> Perhaps Falflaff.

fent her to extricate France out of the hands

of the English, its ancient enemies.

That girl named Joan d'Arq, a native of Domremy, a small village near to Vaucouleurs, on the frontiers of Champagne and Lorraine, had been fervant in an inn, and usually kept the sheep. All the country about gave her a high character for piety. Two months before the was intreating Baudricour commander at Vaucouleurs to fend her speedily to the king; and it is related that the very day of the herring battle she was more urgent than ever, affuring him that the king suffered much that day, and that his backwardness in fending her to his majesty was a great prejudice to his affairs. The governor, after long laughing at her visions, (so he called them), moved either by the uncommonness of the affair, or by the importunity of the girl, gave her at last some men to conduct her to Chinon, where the king was at the time. At court every body made a joke of her, and she was looked on as a fool.

Nevertheless the novelty of the thing inclined the king to see her; but in order to try her at the time she came to him, he was mingled in the throng of courtiers, and ordered one of them to appear in his place. The maid went and singled him out from all the multitude, kneeled down before him, and addressing him as one educated at court might have done, she spoke to him these words with surprising assurance, God hath sent me hither to raise

raise the siege of Orleans, to carry you to Rheims to be folemnly crowned, and to declare to you that

the English shall be expelled your kingdom.

Though she spoke with a confidence which furprised every body, it was long before credit was given to her words; but as she continued to aver that all might be lost for want of believing her, the king resolved at last to have her examined by some doctors. She assigned a very good motive for her conduct. When the was asked why she was clothed like a man, the answered, she was obliged to it because she was fent to fight, and that as she was to be with foldiers, she could better keep herself from their insolence in that dress. Thus she gained credit by degrees. When she was called to the council, she spoke as pertinently concerning the war as the most experienced generals. She was observed to handle her arms, and manage a mettlesome horse with so much address, that she might have been taken for a horseman accomplished in all those exercises. In every thing else her simplicity was extraordinary.

The king, moved with these things, resolved to give her the troops which she demanded to fuccour Orleans, and to fend some of his generals along with her. As she approached the town, her men, terrified with so many forts which must be carried, told her, that her enterprise was impossible. She exhorted them to trust in God, and to begin with making their confession: she assured them that the

the English would do nothing to hinder their passage. In fact, they abandoned without fighting the forts on that side where the French were making their attack. She entered gloriously with her succours, and filled

the whole town with joy and courage.

A little after, as the count de Dunois was bringing a fecond fuccour, the maid made a fally to go and meet him, and conducted him into the place. That fame day she took one of the enemy's forts. The day after the carried another, and showed in those two actions both the valour of a foldier and the conduct of a general. She lay all night before the rampart, with a resolution to attack the day following a third fort, which was at the end of the bridge, where all the English had got together. At break of day she began her attack. About mid-day she was wounded in the moat, and yet persisted. Towards the evening she cried out all at once to attack, and that the fort should be carried. Then all the foldiers, animated as it were by a divine impulse, entered on all sides.

The English were repulsed, and raised the siege the eighth of May 1429. Our people, who had hardly lost 100 men in such dangerous attacks, returned thanks to God, and gave the highest commendations to the maid; and, though the count de Dunois and the other generals had behaved extremely well, they were, nevertheless, not dissatisfied that the

populace

populace and foldiers should give all the glo-

ry to the maid.

The French army took some places; and the constable, to whom the king had been pleased to grant permission to come and join him, went into Normandy, to make war against the English. The maid, after that, declared that the was warned from above, that the English, the ancient enemies of the French, were gathering together their forces to fight them. She exhorted our men to march against them courageously, and promised them a certain victory. The thing happened as she had foretold. The battle was fought at Patay in Beauce, where the English were beat, with little loss on our side, and Talbot, a famous general among the English, was taken in that battle.

The maid, returning to the king, advised him to go to Rheims and get himself crowned. All the council were against it, because Rheims, and all the places between that and Orleans, were in the possession of the enemy. The maid's opinion prevailed, and the king prepared for the journey. Mean-time, the fame of the maid of Orleans flew through the whole kingdom, and inspired courage in the French, who flocked from all parts to the king's army. The English, on the contrary, were discouraged, and several towns were so terrified as to furrender to the king in his passage. He drew near Troyes, which he found very well fortified, and in which the

duke

duke of Burgundy had a strong army of Bur-

gundians and English.

Our army fuffered much at that fiege from scarcity of provisions, and was almost reduced to despair. Before consenting to abandon the enterprise, the king sent for the maid of Orleans, who demanded two days more, and affured him that, within that space, the town would furrender. Charles, who thought himself happy if in six he could finish so difficult an enterprise, ordered to wait, notwithstanding the extremity to which he faw matters reduced. The maid, at the fame time, caused raise a battery, which obliged the town to capitulate. The garrison departed, and Troyes surrendered to the king.

The fame of fo many victories awakened in all the French their love for their prince; they thought him invincible, and that to oppose his progress was to withstand God, who declared for the justice of his cause. The bishop of Chalons came, at the head of all the burghers of his city, to bring the keys to the king; and Rheims likewise opened her gates joyfully. On Charles's entry, he was folemnly crowned the day after, being the 17th of July 1429, according to the custom of his ancestors; and what the maid had foretold was accomplished, contrary to the expectation of every body.

Afterward she came to the king to ask her dismission; saying, that, since the things which had been intrusted to her by heaven

were finished, it was time for her to return to her retreat, and quit the military life, which she had taken up by order of almighty God. The king would not grant her request, and commanded her to remain in his retinue. After taking Beauvais, Sen-lis, and St Denys, he besieged Paris by the maid's advice. The Parisians, being attach. ed to the family of Burgundy, defended themselves obstinately. The maid, after taking the counterscarp on the side of the gate St Honoré, caused throw in faggots to fill the moat, and did not discontinue her enterprise, though she was shot through the thigh, till the duke d'Alençon carried her off by force. and I of herebearuit eagor I bas

The king was obliged, a short time after, to raise the siege with some loss. The Burgundians besieging Compiégne, the maid threw herself into the town. In a fally, in which her men were not able to relift the enemy, pouring upon them from all quarters, she caused the retreat to be sounded, during which, like an experienced officer, she placed herself in the rear, to make good the retreat. Her horse fell under her, and the Burgundians took her, and delivered her up

to the English.

They, instead of admiring so uncommon virtue, which they ought to have esteemed in an enemy, put her into the hands of the bishop of Beauvais to try her. That prelate, being well affected to the English party, condemned

demned her as a sorceres, and for wearing mens cloaths. In execution of that sentence, she was burnt alive at Rouen, in 1431. The English spread a report, that she had at last acknowledged that the revelations of which she had so much boasted, were false. But the pope, some time after, named commissioners. Her trial was solemnly revised, and her conduct approved by a final judgment, which the pope himself confirmed. The Burgundians were forced to raise the siege of

Compiégne.

The young king of England came from Rouen to Paris, into which he made his entry by the gate of St Denys, the 2d of December 1431, and got himself crowned king of France in the cathedral church of Notredame, rather after the English fashion than ours. Mean-time, the count de Dunois made an attempt on Chartres, by means of two English merchants whom he had gained. They were wont to bring provisions into the town; and the count giving them some soldiers, dreffed like carters, to take possession of the gates, he fent others, by different roads, who had orders to be near the carters, at the same time that he was to be there himfelf. He was in concert also with John Sarrasin, a famous Jacobin preacher, who, having warning by what gate he was to enter, invited his hearers to a fermon at the other extremity of the town, on the day and hour appointed for the meeting of our people. Vol. II. All

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All the people flocking thither, as usual, with great ardour, the preacher made a long fermon, to give time for the enterprise. Mean-time the merchants entered, and amufed those who guarded the gates by giving them wine and some fishes. At the same time our people seized the gate; and the count de Dunois coming up, entered with his foldiers. The people seemed ready to lay down their arms, when the bishop, John de Fetigny, arrived. As he was one of the leaders of the Burgundian party, he animated every body to the battle. He was unfortu-nately killed in it, and the town was plun-

Whilst what concerned the war was so successfully managed, the court was perplexed with a strange accident that happened to Trimouille, the king's favourite. Bueil, and some other persons, considents of Charles of Anjou, count du Maine, and brother to the queen, took him, and carried him off. The king, furprised at that account, believed the intention was against his own person; but, at last, he allowed himself to be appealed, either from fear or from the address of the count, his brother-in-law, and he approved the thing in a full assembly of the states-general, which were then sitting at Tours. The count had the principal authority; but Bueil and his companions were foon turned out of favour. The earl of Richmond was busy in making a peace with the duke of Burgundy.

The two princes were well difposed, and there had already been a truce made, some time before, which was foon broken by the interest

of the English.

At that time, the lady of the duke of Bedford, who was lifter of the duke of Burgundy, and who united those two princes, dying, their friendship began to cool, and it was perceived they might be disunited. The reports made to them, on either fide, exasperated their minds; some, likewise, laboured to reconcile them, and their common friends brought them, with that intention, to St Omer; but the matter succeeded so ill, that they retired without feeing each other, because the Duke of Burgundy pretended that it belonged to the duke of Bedford to pay him the first visit. They were, after this, more estranged than ever, and the constable laid hold on that opportunity to dispose Phi. lip to a peace. At last it was concluded, by the mediation of Eugene IV. and of the general council then sitting at Basil.

The conditions were, that Charles should disclaim and renounce the murder committed on the person of John duke of Burgundy as a base action, which he would have hindered had he been of an age to do fo; that Philip on his side should beg the king not to entertain any hatred against him, and that thenceforward the two princes should live in a good understanding, without remembering palt enmities; that if the perpetrators of fo horrible

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horrible an affaffination could be discovered, the king should cause them to be punished according to their demerits; if they could not be taken, that they should be banished for ever out of the kingdom, without any expectation of a pardon. That at Montreau-faut-Yonne, where the duke had been killed, and at the Carthusian monastery at Dijon, where he was buried, there should be a religious foundation made for the repose of his soul at the king's expense, and that, for an indemnification, he should yield to Philip the counties. of Auxerre, of Macon, and of Bar on the Seine, with Arras, Peronne, Montdidier, and Roye, to be held as a peerage, the fovereignty referved to the king, and the jurisdiction to the parliament of Paris; that he should pledge to him also Amiens, Corbie, Abbeville, and all the county of Ponthieu, with some other places on the Somme, redeemable for 400,000 gold crowns; that during the duke's life he should not do homage to the king for all the lands held of him; that the king should defend him against the English, if he were attacked by them; and that he should make no peace with them but with the duke's. confent.

Though these conditions were harsh, and feemed not very suitable to royal majesty, the king was obliged to accept them, and chose rather to submit than to ruin his affairs, under pretext of preserving a vain honour. Queen Mabel of Bavaria, the king's mother, after having

having expiated, by a long poverty, the unjust hatred which she had conceived against her son, died the 24th of September 1435, equally despised by the English and the

French, and unsupportable to herself.

The English, distatisfied with the duke of Burgundy, endeavoured to raise a rebellion in Holland against him, which obliged that prince to declare war against them. The Parisians perceiving Pontoise, Corbeil, St Denys, and the other towns about in the king's possession, and that the duke of Burgundy, for whose sake they were attached to the English, had made his peace, had thoughts also of returning to their duty. The constable, being informed of those good dispositions, advanced as far as Pontoise with the count de Dunois, and acquainted them, that if they wanted to be freed from the English yoke, he would come to their assistance.

On that declaration the citizens affembled, with an intention to fall upon the English. They, in order to hinder them, wanted to make themselves masters of the gate of St Denys; but the citizens chained the streets, and knocked them down with stones and plaister thrown from the house-tops, and out at the windows. Mean time Richmond taking possession of the gate St Jaques, by the assistance of the citizens who guarded it, his men dispersed themselves on all sides through the city, by that gate, and on the walls. The English were terrified, and retired into the Bastisse;

Baltille; and those of their party not finding themselves strong enough, laid down their arms.

The Te Deum was fung in thanksgiving for the reduction of the city, to the great joy of all the people. In the evening Richmond. laid siege to the Bastille, and the day after seized the bridge of Charenton. The Bastille was obliged to capitulate, and the English retired with their lives fafe and unhurt.

The duke of Burgundy belieged Calais on the word of the inhabitants of Ghent, who, by their levity and natural infolence, forced him to abandon the enterprise, by threatening to kill him. The English, mean-time, did not remain idle. They retook Pontoise in the winter-time in a furprising manner. When the ditches were frozen over, and the earth was quite covered with fnow, they dreffed themselves in white, and spread out linen sheets, under which they slipped to the very foot of the wall; at a certain signal they arose all at once, and begun the scalade. The burghers made a very stout defence, and fent to fetch affistance from St Denys; but before it came, the town was taken.

The constable on his side took Meaux, and fome other places, notwithstanding the resistance of the English. Whilst the king's power was recovering by the strength and prosperous success of his arms, it had like to have been ruined in 1439 by domestic divisions. The dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with some other

other princes and lords, disobliged at having no share in the government, confederated together, and undertook a war against the king, under pretext that he allowed himself to be governed by very bad ministers. They sent the bastard of Bourbon to the dauphin Louis,

to bring him over to the party.

That prince, from his earliest years, had always shown great wit and vivacity; but he was restless, ambitious, and an enemy to dependence. He was feventeen years of age, and was married a year before with Margaret, daughter of the king of Scotland. From that time he had left off the trifles which are too eagerly purfued at that age, and thought an injury was done him not to employ him in public affairs, and he fecretly murmured against the king for not calling him to action. The bastard represented to him the state of things, the strength and designs of Paris; that the princes intended nothing but the fervice of the king and the good of the kingdom; that it was his interest to provide for the necessities of the desolated kingdom; and that nothing but the dauphin's authority could prevent its total ruin. That young prince, brought over by those arguments, entered into the league, and stole away from court.

Charles declared the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, and the rest who had bereaved him of his son, guilty of high treason. The king, where the dauphin appeared, declared to him, that the king should always be the ab-

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folute master; so that the young prince easily perceived that there was no hope of succeeding in his claims, especially after the duke of Burgundy, from whom he had demanded a retirement in his dominions, had answered, that he would willingly entertain him there, but that he was not to expect that he should give him any assistance against the king. He was therefore obliged to come and ask the king's pardon; the necessity of affairs forced the dauphin to this step, and the duke was continually seconding that necessity by his exhortations.

After the king had pardoned him, the young prince faid, with a very haughty air, that he must also pardon the rest; and Charles, provoked at that faying, answered, that he received no laws from his subjects, and far less from his son, and refused that favour. Upon that the dauphin replied, that he must then return, and that he had so promised to the princes. The king made a joke of any promise given by his son without his order; and at last added, that if he were wearied of being with him, the door was open, and he might go where he pleased. At these words he begun to be sensible of the royal and paternal power, and returned entirely to his duty.

Afterward the king of his own accord pardoned the princes; but he took from the duke of Bourbon, contriver of the plot, all the places of which he had the government.

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As for the bastard of Bourbon, he was sewed in a sack, and thrown into the river at Barsur-Aube. The king changed all the dauphin's domestics except his confessor and his physician, and set abour him trusty persons. He went afterward to Troyes, where, desiring to put a stop to the disorders committed by the military, he established a fund for their subsistence, and for that purpose imposed the taille, (taillage, or tallage), which since that

time has been perpetual.

After long disputes, peace was concluded between the family of Orleans and that of Burgundy. Charles of Orleans, who was prifoner in England from the battle of Azincourt, was released by the intervention of Philip duke of Burgundy, on payment how-ever of a great ransom; and he married Mary of Cleves, daughter of Adolphus duke of Cleves, and of Mary fifter of the duke of Burgundy, as he had promifed in his confine-The marriage was celebrated with great magnificence. Philip fent to Charles the golden fleece, which was the badge of the order of knighthood which he had newly inflituted. He received also from him the collar of his order. The two dukes, being united by these testimonies of mutual friendship, lived in a strict correspondence.

Many of the nobility attached themselves to the duke of Orleans, who came to court with a great retinue. The king, who had been often betrayed, and who for that reason

was always diffident, was suspicious of him; so that he ordered him to be told, that if he intended to come to court, he should come with sewer attendants. The duke of Burgundy had roundly told him beforehand, that so much magnificence would not be agreeable, and that the king's ministers would not suffer him to intermeddle in affairs. That prince, after paying his obeisance to the king, returned home, and lived there peaceably.

Mean-time the king and the dauphin befieged Pontoise; Talbot twice supplied that place with provisions. Richard duke of York, regent of the kingdom, and governor of Normandy, making a false attack on one side of the camp, passed the river on the other, and entered the place with his army. Charles failed not to continue the siege, and taking the church of Notre-dame which commanded the town, the English were no longer able to hold out. The princes revolted a fecond time. They met at Nevers, from whence they fent their complaints to the king. They chiefly complained of two things; first, that a peace was not made with England; and, fecondly, that the people were too heavily loaded with taxes. This was the pretext which they gave to their ambitious deligns.

Charles, to appeale the commotions, and deprive the princes of every reason of complaint, answered, that the English were making proposals so intolerable, and demanding so many provinces in full sovereignty, that if

he granted their demands, the princes themfelves would oppose his too great easiness of temper: that with regard to the taxes, it was known how necessary they were for supporting the expense of the war, and that, as far as he had been able, he had raised nothing without the consent of the states-general, but that the chief persons of the states having represented that those assemblies could not be held without being an additional charge to the people, who paid their representatives, he laid on the taxes according to the necessity of his affairs, and caused the money to be paid into his coffers by the assessor of the parishes with the least possible expense.

Mean-time the English besieged Dieppe; the dauphin who wanted only an opportunity to signalize himself, undertook to raise the siege of that place. At the same time the king marched in person with 16,000 horse to succour the town of Tartas, which was to surrender if a royal army came not to its assistance before a certain time. Upon the army's coming, the town remained under the government of Charles. He took St Severe,

and some other places in Gascony.

The dauphin, who had accompanied the king, was sent back to Normandy, upon the reiterated intreaties of the count de Dunois, to oppose General Talbot, who was besieging the town of Dieppe; and having forced the English camp, he supplied Dieppe with provisions, and raised the siege. Mean-time the duke

duke of Burgundy took possession of the duchy of Luxemburg, as heir of Antony of Brabant, and of John of Bavaria, his uncles. A truce was agreed between the two kings till a peace could be concluded. Henry king of England married Margaret daughter of the king of Sicily, a woman active and courageous, who might have been capable of inspiring her husband with great designs, had she met with a courage like her own. The dauphin during the truce made war against the Swiss, who had rebelled against the emperor. That war was unsuccessful, and a little after, wearied of his condition, he retired into Dauphiné.

His imperious humour was not satisfied with the small share that he had in the government. He complained of the king's amours, and of his majesty's bad treatment of the queen his mother. His turbulent and fretful temper, troublesome to the king, and to himself, covered his ambition under those

vain pretexts.

The church had been troubled about that time by the great commotions which happened at Basil. Eugene IV. made a decree to transfer the council to Ferrara, where the Greeks, who had so long separated from the Roman church, were to meet, to endeavour a reunion. The fathers of the council thought that the pope could not change the place of the council but with their consent, and continued their sessions. The pope annualled

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nulled the council and its decrees: the council, on its side, deposed the pope, and resolved to elect another.

Amedeus duke of Savoy was living at that time in a hermitage called Ripaille, into which he had retired from the world and from bufiness, and though still in full vigour, he had left his dominions to his son Louis, on condition however, that if he did not govern as he ought to do, the father would resume the government. So they consulted him about the most important affairs, and as to the rest he passed his life very quietly and comfortably, and he had even preserved some degree of splendour and dignity. He was the person whom the fathers of Basil chose for pope, and he took the name of Felix V.

France always respected the authority of the council, and yet remained submissive to Eugene; but an assembly of prelates held at Bourges in 1438, by the king's order, received most of the decrees of the fathers of Bassil. The resolution of that assembly was confirmed by the king; and that is what is called the pragmatic sanction, the principal aim of which was to preserve to chapters the election to the benefices called consisterial. Bishoprics and abbacies are so called, because it is customary, when they are vacant, to propose them before the pope in a full consistory.

Mean-time Eugene died, and the cardinals elected Nicolas V. Those of Basil and their adherents supported Felix V. and the church

Vol. II. L was

was threatened with a schism as troublesome as that from which it had been just extricated, if Charles had not speedily applied a remedy suitable to so great an evil. He sent ambassadors to the two popes, and was so successful in his negotiations, that Felix renounced the pontificate, on condition that he should continue a cardinal and perpetual legate a latere in Savoy and its neighbourhood. Then the council, which had by its own authority been transferred to Lausanne, acknowledged Ni-

colas, and separated.

There happened at the same time a great insurrection at London. The mayor, an enemy of the bishop of Exeter, lord keeper of the seals in England, under pretext of taxes imposed on the people, put himself at their head, entered that bishop's house, and killed him. Emboldened by his crime, he attacked Susfolk, who was in highest favour with the king. Henry, to satisfy the people, caused him to be put in prison; some time after he recalled him to court. The clamours of the people were renewed, and the king, to screen his savourite from the sury of the mob, helped him to make his escape. He seed to France, where he was taken and beheaded at Rouen by order of the duke of Somerset.

The mob, emboldened by the fuccess of their enterprises, were so audacious as to demand from the king those of his council, who they said were contrivers of Suffolk's escape;

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escape; he was so weak as to deliver them up, and the rebels cut off their heads. troubles being appealed for a short time, in the midst of the truce, the English had thoughts of a war, and surprised Fougere, a place of strength belonging to the duke of Brittany, between Brittany and Normandy. There were likewise complaints that the English disguised themselves to pillage the territories of France, and that they abused the Normans attached to the king, who had gone to see their estates during the truce. Upon these accounts the king undertook the defence of the duke his vassal, and redemanded Fougere, which Henry would not restore, nor repair the damages which his troops had occasioned.

Charles took that refufal for an infraction of the truce, and prepared for entering Normandy, according to the plan laid in the coun-Francis I. duke of Brittany was cil of war. to enter on one fide with the earl of Richmond his uncle, and the count de Dunois on the other. He took first Pont-Audemer and Lisieux, and then went and besieged Mante. The belieged demanding a conference with him, he remonstrated with great eloquence against the perfidy of the English, who had broken the truce by taking Fougere, and ravaging France, which had obliged the king to renew the war with those perfidious violators of treaties; and he added, that he was resolved to drive them not only out of Nor-L 2 mandy,

mandy, but also out of all France: he exhorted them to remember the love which they owed to their king and country, and not to wait for the last extremities. Moved with the count's vernon followed their example.

Mean-time the duke of Brittany and his uncle took St Lo and Carentan; the duke d'Alençon took likewise his own town, and the inhabitants of feveral other places expelled the English garrisons; but Verneuil, a town on the confines of Normandy and Perche, which was reckoned impregnable, was delivered up to the king by intelligence. A miller was the occasion of that conquest; as the English had abused him for neglect of duty when a centinel, he resolved to be revenged, and to deliver up the town to the king. For that purpose he amused the burghers who were to mount guard; those whom they were to relieve being weary, and performing their duty negligently, or leaving their posts, the king's troops were informed of it, and they entered the place. Afterward preparations were made for a more confiderable enterprife, which was the fiege of Rouen.

The king stopped at Pont de l'Arche, within a very short distance of that town; and the count de Dunois blockading it, caused first fummon the English. They dispatched the heralds with contempt, and the count began his works; but finding the attack of the place difficult, he bethought himself of cutting off their

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their provisions. The inhabitants then refolved to deliver up to the count two towers, by which he might enter into the place. He was already mounting these by scalade, when Talbot came up hastily, repulsed the count's men, and put to the fword the burghers who had been willing to furrender these two towers. This was the occasion of losing the town to the English; for the inhabitants were apprehensive of being taken by assault, and left to the discretion of the conquerors. They there-fore came all in a body about the house of their governor the duke of Somerfet, and asked his permission to capitulate. He was forced to yield to the cries of the people, and still more to the famine with which the town was pressed.

The archbishop was deputed to invite the king to come into the city of Rouen, the keys of which were brought to him as foon as he came near. Somerfet retired into his own palace; he was there belieged by the king, and allowed to furrender on terms. He promifed a great sum of money, and to get Arques, Caudebec, Honfleur, and some other strong places surrendered. Talbot was left for an hostage, and the artillery of the English remained in the king's possession. He made his folemn entry into Rouen, settled the police, and carefully prevented any irregularities of the foldiers. Fougere furrendered to the duke of Brittany. Charles laid siege to Harsleur, and foon took it, because he himself hastened salisation of them at a Indian to the times and at author

the siege, and advanced the works, which he went and viewed. The duke de Dupois took Honsleur by force, which Somerset had bound

himself to get surrendered.

The army was afterward divided in two bodies, the more easily to finish the conquest of Normandy. Thomas Quiriel \* brought from England 3000 men, who landed at Cherburg, and joined them to the veteran troops of the same nation. That army which molested the province, was met and defeated by the count de Clermont; that was the last effort of the English to defend Normandy. The duke of Brittany took Avranches, the count de Dunois took possession of Bayeux, and the king himself attacking Caen, soon obliged it to surrender.

The constable then besieged Cherburg, the only place in Normandy which the English possessed. At that siege Gaspard Bureau, grand master of the ordnance, found out an invention to hinder the cannon of a battery tailed on the sea shore from being wer by the tide, which passed over them twice a day. He had greafed skins with which he covered the cannon, which, notwithstanding the slux of the sea, was in a condition to be fired as soon as the resux happened. The place was at last surrendered, and all Normandy reduced. The conquest of this great province was effected in a year and six days.

<sup>[\*</sup> This name appears to be a mistake, as no such name is now common; perhaps it may be Quarles.]

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A fhort reflection on the prodigious rapidity of those conquests of the king, and on the causes which accelerated them, will not be amis. His main affistance was his honesty and equity; for the administration of justice, which he took care should be performed with the greatest exactness, engaged the towns to submit to the government of so just a prince. When they furrendered, he prevented the diforders of the military, and he not only strictly observed the capitulations, but sometimes even granted more than he had promised. The foldiers were guilty of no depredations in the country, because, as he ordered them to be punctually paid, he also took care to make them live regularly.

He had made fine regulations for the household troops, and for the militia. These regulations prefcribed to them what methods every one was to use, both in attacking and defending; in what manner they were to fight, and what order they were to observe in every thing. Nothing was wanting at sieges, neither provisions, nor powder, nor artillery. He took care to have it very well ferved, and that every thing should be ready at an exact minute; he caused every one to be punctually paid who were to act, fo that sieges were carried on with incredible disparch. This prince was likewise careful to have very expert and valiant generals to command his armies, among others the count de Dunois and the

constable, without mentioning those who were

wont to serve under them.

Among the illustrious men of that age is deservedly reckoned James Cœur, who was skilful in commerce and the management of the finances, whose thining fortune was ruined by a court-intrigue. The two brothers John and Gaspard Bureau are likewise remarkable for excelling in the art of fortification, and management of the artillery. They performed fignal services in the conquest of Normandy. But in matters of importance the king acted himself, and to encourage his men, he neither feared labour, nor scrupled to expose his own person.

Mean-time Henry his adversary led a very innocent life with regard to manners, but effeminate and lazy, and could scarcely restrain his own people, so far was he from being terrible to his enemies. Having finished the conquest of Normandy in the month of August, the king thought proper, without delay, to carry his victorious army, encouraged by fo many fuccesses, into Aquitaine: fo, leaving the earl of Richmond governor of the conquered province, he advanced into Peri-gord, where he took Bergerac and St Foi.

In the spring of the year following, the count de Dunois, governor of Guienne, befieged Blaye by fea and land, took the town by affault, and the castle on capitulation. He then took the strong castles of Bourg and Fronfac; after which he besieged Bourdeaux, which XI.

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which was reduced to furrender, if it were not fuccoured by the twentieth of June. When that day was come, a herald came out of the town to call the English army to the assistance of Bourdeaux, declaring, that, failing of that fuccour, the town would furrender. When the herald had reported that no army appeared, the inhabitants opened the gates. Upon the count's being received there, he became admired for his equity, his integrity, and his wise government, and kept the whole pro-

Now nothing but Bayonne remained in the possession of the English. The counts de Dunois and de Foix battered it with great violence. It was faid, that there appeared in the air a white crofs, which had ferved for a warning to the inhabitants to leave the red cross, which was the English standard, for the white cross, which was that of France. Whatever be in that, they furrendered on reafonable conditions. Thus Aquitaine was reduced in ten months time to the king's obedience, to which it returned 300 years after Henry II. king of England had united it to his crown, and 200 years after St Louis had restored to Henry III. what his grandfather Philip Augustus had conquered there.

Pope Nicolas V. like a common father, fent his legates, with orders to treat of peace between the two kings. Charles easily hearkened to that proposal, both to spare Christian blood, and to unite the forces of Christen-

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dom against the common enemy, that is to fay, against the Turk. The king of England received that legation haughtily, and answer. ed, that when he should have as much advantage over France, as that crown had over him, he should then begin to listen to propofals of peace. But vain were his expectations of recovering the provinces which he had loft. To this the troubles of his own kingdom, and the divisions of the houses of York and Lancaster, were unsurmountable impediments.

We have already observed, that they began from the time that Richard II. was forced to yield the crown to Henry duke of Lancaster. Richard duke of York pretended that the crown belonged to him; thence those irreconcileable enmities between those two houses; thence the factions of the white and red roses, which occasioned so many wars. Richard duke of York begun them. That prince, who was a great and bold warrior, thought that the effeminacy of Henry VI. would afford him an opportunity of making good the claims of his family. He fecretly raised the province of Kent, of which Can-terbury is the capital. John Kad or Cade, the leader of the rebellion, at the duke's instigation, entered London, at the head of a vast multitude of people, and demanded from the king some of his counsellors, to punish them, faid he, for the diforders which they occasioned in the kingdom.

Henry laughing at that demand, Kad en-

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tered the house of the lord high treasurer, whom he put to death. A short time after he was taken and beheaded himself, and the rebellion was quashed. Richard, not discouraged at the unfuccessfulness of his first defigns, conceived others still greater, and took up arms himself. He declared the highest respect for the king, and that his sole intention was against the duke of Somerset, who oppressed the liberties of the country, and loaded the people with taxes. The king, in the mean time, marched against him with an

army stronger than his.

The duke of York perceiving himself unable to relift, represented the impropriety of fhedding fo much blood to defend Somerfet, and that, for his part, he was ready to lay down his arms, if Somerset were removed from the king's councils and presence. In fact, he commanded all his men to lay down their arms, and entered, full of confidence, into the king's tent. Henry had caused Somerset to be concealed behind the tapestry, to hear what Richard might have to fay. He, after declaring to the king the profound respect that he had for him, fell out into invectives against Somerset, accusing him of all the disorders of the kingdom, and frequently repeated that he was a traitor, and an enemy of the state od to standardar and , The

At these words Somerset came from behind the tapestry, and addressing Richard, he afferted, that he himself was the traitor, and

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then recounted all that duke's enterprises against the king and the state. He asked the king, whether it was for his advantage to allow a man to live who openly pretended to the crown? He added, that thence arose seditions and civil wars, and that the king could never be at quiet till he had rid himself of so factious and restless a person.

Henry, persuaded by those arguments, caused Richard to be arrested. The affair was brought before the council, where the duke of Somerset persisted in his opinion, that the person pretending to the crown must be put to death, and the public tranquillity fecured by the execution of a fingle man. But there were several reasons for taking more moderate

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First, the people was to be feared, as having a bias for Richard, whose valour they esteemed. Every body was moved by the confidence with which he had laid down his arms, and that action was reckoned a proof that he had no bad designs. Besides, it was known that his son Edward earl of March was advancing with a considerable army, which kept the king in fear; and, in fine, he did not think proper to begin a civil war, nor to divide England, at a time when there was fome hopes of recovering Guienne.

In fact, the inhabitants of Bourdeaux had affured him that they would deliver up their city to him if he fent them succours, either that they had conceived that delign, because

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VOL. II.

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they had been abused by their governors, as some say, or, which is truer, because they had been driven to that change by their old inclination for the English, or by the natural levity of their minds.

Upon that proposal, Henry sent them Talbot, that famous general, who for a course of twenty-four years had made war against the French, and whom Charles, who esteemed virtue even in an enemy, had dismissed without ransom when his prisoner.

Talbot, on his arrival in the country of Medoc, seized some places; he then advanced toward Bourdeaux, which opened its gates to him, and made the French garrison prisoners. From thence he made incursions into Guienne, where he seized several fortresses, and among the rest that of Castillon in Perigord.

Charles, sensibly affected with this news, lost no time in vain regret, and at the first bethought himself of a remedy. He instantly set out from Tours, and sent before him a strong army to besiege Castillon. The two brothers Bureau had the command of the siege. They made their trenches, and raised their batteries with so prodigious a number of cannon, that it seemed as if the town was to be reduced to ashes. Talbot came to succour the place. The besieged had no sooner perceived him, than they set up a cry, that the French were trembling, and would sty at the first onset. He marched on that assurance, thinking to find our people

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in confusion, and ready to betake themselves to flight, if he fell on them fuddenly; but far from being terrified, they had drawn up in order of battle behind their intrenchments.

and received Talbot vigorously.

Mean-time our artillery was making fo terrible a noise, that the earth was shaken with it. Talbot's horse was killed, and falling himself, was run through by a free-archer. The town, frightened at the ruins which the cannon occasioned on all sides, demanded a capitulation, and furrendered. Charles, attended by many of the nobility, marched fpeedily to join the army; where he was no fooner arrived that he attacked Cadillac, and, after carrying it, marched straight to Bourdeaux. He encompassed the town with his trenches, shut up all the entries into it, and made himself master of the Garonne, where he placed his fleet. That of the English came into it also, and the two fleets were in fight, having each their fort on the landside.

The English were disposed to attack us, had they been able; but though there were in the place 8000 foldiers, besides the troops on board the ships, the enemy durft attempt nothing in three months that the fiege lasted. Every day the king vifited the camp, encouraged the foldiers, and kept every one to his duty. Guard was strictly kept, and regularly mounted in the army, and they had great plenty of every thing. So the belieged, after vain

vain expectations of succour, surrendered for want of provisions. Charles caused two castles to be built to keep the people in awe; but his justice, and the gracious reception that he gave to every body, were more conducive than any thing else to render him peaceable master of the town and province. Bourdeaux being retaken, scarcely did any considerable place remain in the possession of the English; so that they were driven not only out of all Aquitaine, but even out of the whole kingdom excepting Calais, which was reckoned impressible.

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At the same time arrived the melancholy news of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. That young prince, of twentythree or twenty-four years of age, breathed nothing but war and conquests. Moved by that passion, he besieged Constantinople by sea and land with an innumerable army, and fo great a quantity of cannons, that his intention seemed to be to batter down that great city in a moment. With all that preparation he was ready to raise the siege on account of the vigorous defence of the belieged; and it is faid he had resolved to build a column, with an inscription upon it, forbidding any of his succeffors thenceforward to attack that place, which it was not possible to force; but one of his bashaws opposing that cowardly resolution, represented to him the shame which would fall upon him, and upon his whole people, should he return without doing any M 2

thing, when he had so numerous an army under his command.

Mahomet resolved then to give a last assault; he caused it to be made in the night-time with an extraordinary effort. The Christians defended themselves long; but John Justinian, a noble Venetian, and famous general of that time, who alone sustained the battle, retiring, perhaps, too soon, on account of a wound which he had received, the besieged began to slacken, and then they gave way all together. The Turks on their side pushed them, and put all to the rout that they met; at last they silled the city with rapes, blood, and devastation.

The Emperor Constantine was stifled among the croud, and avoided by that means the contemptuous usage of that proud conqueror. Thus that royal city, built by Constantine the Great, to command the whole universe, was reduced to servitude under an emperor of the same name. Mahomet made his usual residence there; and his successors following his example, to the scandal of Christendom, have there established the seat of their empire.

After the retaking of Bourdeaux, the civil wars were renewed in England. Richard began again to embroil the state, and the king, who marched against him, was beaten in a bloody battle, in which the duke of Somerset was killed, and himself wounded with an arrow in the throat. After that victory Richard, being rid of his enemy, and having to do with

with a weak king, had the absolute authority, and began to meditate a war against France. He was solicited to this by a French prince.

This was John duke d'Alençon, who, befide being a prince of the blood, was also a very near ally of the king, having married his niece, daughter of his fifter Isabella, and of his cousin the duke of Orleans. wicked prince, faithless to his king and his country, fent a man to the duke of York, to inform him that Normandy was unprovided of officers and foldiers, and every thing would be open for him if he landed speedily with an army. To encourage him to that expedition, he represented to him that Charles was in Guienne with all his troops, and too remote from Normandy to be able to fuccour it; that France was oppressed and ready to rebel; that the dauphin was out of court, much disfatisfied with the king his father, and with the government; that the king was preparing to make war against him, which would make a great diversion of the forces of France; and that the dauphin was refolved to join the English if they attempted any thing; so that all was disposed and prepared to favour the fuccess of the conquest which he proposed to him; but that, in order to facilitate the scheme still more, he offered to receive the English into all the places which he possessed in Normandy.

Richard, moved by all those arguments, entered into the designs of the duke d'Alençon,

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whose daughter was to marry his son, for a security of the alliance which was to be between the two princes; but the duke of York's interest did not last long enough to attempt that matter. Margaret so excited the jealousy of the king her husband against the exorbitant power of the house of York, that Henry was fully resolved to take all the power out of his hand, and he was forced to retire from

court, in 1453.

The duke d'Alençon perfifted always in his intentions, and used with the king of England the fame importunate folicitations as he had done with the duke of York. Every thing was promifed to him, but the state of affairs rendered the execution difficult. During this negotiation, the dauphin, who dwelt for ten years past in Dauphiné, very much diffatisfied with the king his father, and with the small share he allowed him in the administration, had advice, that the king was more irritated against him than ever. Charles wearied with his troublesome behaviour, and teafed with complaints of the oppressions of which he was guilty in Dauphine, had an intention to have him secured, and to give the crown to Charles his fecond fon.

Louis, vexed at those accounts, secretly lest Dauphine, and, under pretext of going a hunting, stole away from the people who were observing him, and retired to the duke of Burgundy. That duke was not satisfied with the king, who, after so many victories, perceiving

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ceiving his power established, treated him imperiously. He was therefore very glad to use the dauphin's discontents for his own interest, and to have his royal highness in his power. In this hope he fent orders to receive him in Brabant, with the honours due to the

fon of his fovereign.

When he arrived there, the duke allotted him a pension suitable to his dignity, and at the same time he fent to the king to give him his reasons for so doing. He said he could not refuse the dauphin admittance into his country; that he had found him very much terrified, chiefly because all his attendants had been taken from him, without even leaving him one fingle domestic, in whom he might confide; and he himself begged the king his father, that if he could not procure his favour by continuing in the kingdom, he would at least permit him to make war against the Turks. The duke urged the king to fend the dauphin to that war, and offered to ferve in it under his command with his troops, provided the king on his fide gave his fon what was necessary.

Charles answered, that the dauphin had been in the wrong to retire from court; that his greatest advantage was to be much in the favour of his father and king, on whom he depended in every thing; that he had given him leave of absence only for four months, and that he had remained more than ten years in Dauphiné; that in the mean time he had

lost the opportunity of assisting him in the conquest of Guienne and Normandy, in which he had done great harm to himself, and to the king, because the glory of a father is, that his children should do commendable actions.

With regard to his domestics, Charles faid. he would be loath to allow him persons who gave him bad advice; and as to his propofal to go and make war against the Turk, it was but a vain pretext to absent himself, and that prudence did not permit to unfurnish the kingdom of nobility and foldiers whilst it was at war against the English; he added, nevertheless, that if peace, or a long truce were made, no Christian prince should be more inclinable than he to declare against the common enemy, which he should however do by the pope's advice. All these letters produced no effect; the father and fon were never after reunited, and the dauphin continued with the duke of Burgundy till the king's death.

A little after the dauphin's retreat into Brabant, the duke d'Alençon's conspiracy was discovered. Henry kept as fair with him as he could, in order to profit by his advice and afsistance; but as the matter went heavily on, Charles got information of what was contriving against him, and caused the duke d'Alençon to be seized. He was long in prison, after which Charles resolved to bring on his

trial.

As he was a peer of France, the peers must for that purpose be convocated. Charles as fembled XI.

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fembled them at Montargis, where the parliament was also ordered to convene, and whither the king was to come with his council; but the affembly was afterwards prorogued to Vendome. There were none of the lay peers there. There was a particular reason for the absence of the duke of Burgundy, because in the treaty of Arras it was Itipulated, that he could not be forced to be present at the meetings of the peers, notwithstanding his title of first peer, but he sent his ambassadors to Vendome. The constable of Richmond, become duke of Brittany by the death of Peter his nephew, the wife and children of the duke d'Alençon came thither also, and asked favour for that unhappy prince, but to no purpose. The king would not hear them; and in order to proceed to judgment, he established some peers in place of the absent.

The ecclesiastical peers, with several other bishops, were present at the interrogatories, wherein the duke confessed the treasons of which he was accused, and pled Guilty. The king, with advice of the princes of the blood, the peers, the lords holding in peerage, his council, and the whole members of parliament in a very full meeting, pronounced a decree, by which he declared the duke d'Alençon guilty of high treason, deprived him of the peerage, and condemned him to death. When this sentence was pronounced, the king ordered the execution of it to be deferred till his further good pleasure should be known.

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The criminal was fent to be imprisoned at Loches. Alengon and fome other estates were annexed to the crown; the rest with his moveable effects were preserved for his wife and children, at the intreaty of the duke of Brittany his uncle. The king of England fent afterward a folemn embaffy to treat with Charles of a peace, or a truce. So far from liftening to the proposals, he refused even to fee the ambassadors. Their plots with the duke d'Alençon induced the king to show indignation against the English, whose affairs belides were in fuch a state as to draw upon

them that contemptuous usage.

The earl of Warwick, an intimate friend of Richard duke of York, had begun the civil war again, and marched to join him with Trolop, a famous English general, to whom he had not communicated his intention; but he discovering that the design was to employ him against the king, came over to his party with all his men; so the duke was defeated, and obliged to flee into Ireland, whilft Warwick retired to his government of Calais; but he did not remain there long in quiet, and he picked up troops from all quarters, of which at last he composed a great army. Richard put himself at their head, where he fought some time after with a desperate resolution, like a man determined to conquer or die. He got a complete victory, and took the king, and thut him up in a prison. Then he declared openly that the kingdom belonged to him,

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king, e deed to him, him, but the parliament begged him to let Henry finish his life, and to take upon him-self the government in the mean time, with an assurance of the crown after that prince's death, even to the exclusion of Edward his son.

Queen Margaret did not fuffer him long to enjoy the power which the parliament had given him. She affembled an army to deliver the king her husband, and the prince her son. Richard came up with his troops, and the armies were already in fight. In this state information was brought to Richard, that his eldest son was coming by forced marches to join him, and that if he waited that junction, the victory would be infallible; he answered haughtily, that it should not be said that the duke of York, who had gained so many victories in France and elsewhere, was afraid of a woman; fo he put his army in order of battle. The queen did the same, and went herself from rank to rank, exhorting the soldiers to fight valiantly for the liberty of their king. She then ordered to give the fignal to engage, and gained the battle, in which Richard and Edmund his fecond fon were taken. The queen ordered them to be beheaded, and their heads carried on the point of a spear.' Out of derision she caused a crown of paper to be put on that of the duke of York. That princess marched at the same time against Warwick, who had just defeated Pembroke a royalist, and having herself beat him, she delivered

delivered the king. Then, without loss of time, she went in pursuit of the remains of the vanquished party, and finding the troops well-disposed, she led them against Edward, Richard's fon.

That prince had passed through London, where all the people wanted to acknowledge him as king; but he disdainfully answered, that he would receive no honour till he had defeated the queen, and revenged the death of his father. With that intention he had rapidly left the city, ruminating on the shame of his family, and the difgraceful execution of his father and brother, to which derision and mockery had been joined. He was very fensible that the queen destined him for a like fate, and thought it intolerable that a woman should have beat so many brave men. Full of these thoughts, he marched against the enemy with incredible speed.

The battle was fought near York, and was disputed for ten hours with very great obstinacy. When Edward remarked that his men were giving way, he ordered to be proclaimed through the whole army, that fuch as were afraid might retire; that if there were any refolute enough to be willing to conquer or die with him, he would give them great rewards, and promifed the like to fuch as should kill the fugitives. Thereupon he was the first to throw himself among the thickest of his enemies, and followed by all his men, he cut in pieces the queen's army. Henry was forced

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rced to That unfortunate, king some time after, difguising himself, and coming back to his kingdom to try whether he could re-establish his ruined affairs, was discovered, and put in prison, where Edward kept him ten years. He got himself crowned at London under the name of Edward IV.

About the fame time information was brought to Charles, that the dauphin intended to poison him; so that turning distrustful he would eat no more, and for all that could be faid to him, he continued obstinate in that resolution for several days. When his attendants, who perceived him growing weak, remonstrated to him with tears what folly it was for him to kill himself for fear of death, moved with their grief, he made an effort to eat, but too late; his bowels were dried and straitened, and his death inevitable. reign was glorious by his driving the English out of France, and recovering the empire of his progenitors. It must be imputed to his good luck, that there were found in his reign great men in all kind of professions, and to his prudence that he knew how to make use of them, which occasioned him to be called the Victorious, and the Well-ferved. He died at Mehun upon the Yevre the 22d of July 1461. aged fixty, after reigning near thirty-nine years.

VOL. II.

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## BOOK XII.

## Louis XI.

A Fter the death of Charles, many lords of the kingdom, and officers of the parliament of Paris, went to wait upon Louis in Hainault, where he was with the duke of Burgundy; he established and continued some, and referred the decision as to others till he should be at Paris. Then he went to get himself crowned at Rheims, where he was made a knight by the duke of Burgundy; which was a novelty, and had not till that time been practised, says Monstrelet, because it was thought that king's sons were born knights. Nevertheless Charles VII. had been made a knight at his coronation by the duke d'Alencon.

On the day of his coronation, the duke of Burgundy begged him to pardon those whom he suspected to have instigated the king his father against him; which he promised, excepting seven, whom he did not name. That duke did homage to him for all the lands which he held of the crown, that is to say, for the duchy of Burgundy and the counties of Flanders and Artois, assuring him of his strictest adherence and attachment. Louis went afterward to Paris, whither he was accompanied by the duke, and by Charles count

de Charolois his fon.

He entered upon the management of his affairs with a spirit of revenge against the fervants of the king his father, and of contempt for every thing done under his reign. He established a new council, and removed the old ministers, who knew the secrets and the series of affairs, by whose services Charles had recovered and established his kingdom. He liberated the duke d'Alençon, who had fo shamefully betrayed the state, without thinks ing that fo pernicious a person must be the occasion of nothing but confusion and trouble. The fmall estimation in which that prince held every thing done in the preceding reign, was the occasion of his consenting to break the pragmatic fanction, which the good people of the kingdom regarded nevertheless as the foundation of the discipline of the Gallican churchy and handout and lead that are all the salary

Pope Pius II. used earnest importunities with the king about that affair, and made use of the ministry of John Gefroy, bishop of Arras, an artful and intriguing man, who, for his success in that affair, was made a cardinal, and the richest beneficiary in the kingdom. The king, more anxious to do what he pleased in his kingdom than to preserve its ancient laws, was very glad on that occasion to keep fair with the court of Rome, and to dispose by that means of the benefices of his kingdom, which the pope bestowed according to his recommendation.

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Mean-time the pragmatic fanction was not N 2 entirely entirely abolished, because the pope had deferred the execution of what he had promised; which was to keep a legate in France for bestowing the benefices there, to prevent the necessity of carrying the money to Rome for their warrants. The king likewise on his side did not cause the declaration which he gave to be passed by the parliament; so the pragmatic fanction subsisted still in some shape; but at Rome it was reckoned as abolished, and in France it lost much of its strength.

Louis, in removing fuch as had displeased him in the lifetime of Charles VII. appeared willing likewife to flow that he remembered his friends. He gave a large pension to the count de Charolois, and made him governor of Normandy, where he ordered him to be received as if he himself were there in person, At the same time that he treated the count so well, he was on the point of falling out with the duke his father. He had refolved to prohibit in Burgundy to give any affiftance to Edward, because he himself supported Henry VI. who had married Margaret of Anjou, his kinswoman. He wanted also to establish the gabelle duties [now properly the excise on falt ] in Burgundy. When the duke was informed of his intentions, he fent the lord of Chimay to complain of that usage. It was long before the king would give him an audience; but at last Chimay met him in a pasfage, and made his remonstrances in his mafter's name. and limitern of the

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The king asked him if the duke were of another species than the rest of the princes, that he should not obey him? Chimay resuming the discourse, "Yes, Sire, to you," said he, " for he supported you against the king " your father, which no other did, nor durst " do." The king appearing angry at fo bold an answer, Chimay replied, that had he forgot it, he should have returned fifty leagues to make it, and to recall to his memory his old friends whom he now feemed to have forgotten.

At that time Margaret queen of England laboured to carry fuccours to King Henry her husband, who had escaped out of his confinement, and had been received in Scotland, Louis gave that princess 2000 men in armour, commanded by Peter de Brezé, lord of la Varenne, who had the chief interest with King Charles. It is faid he gave him that employ, ment to get rid of him; nevertheless he made very great progress; but the succours which were to come from Scotland failing, the queen was obliged to make her escape with Edward her fon and la Varenne. As they had loft their way in a great forest, they were taken by robbers, who plundered them of all they had ! they were even ready to kill them, but for a quarrel which happened among themselves about sharing the booty. That gave the queen an opportunity to escape out of their hands, and to hide hertelf in the heart of the foreit. where not knowing how to carry away her N. 3 fon,

fon, she said very resolutely to a robber whom she found by himself, "Here, carry and save "the son of your king;" which he did without hesitation. Afterward she landed in the territories of the duke of Burgundy, who received her respectfully, gave her 2000 crowns, and had her conducted to King René or Reynold her father. As to Henry, his impatience having prompted him to leave a castle where he had hid himself some time, he was taken, and again shut up in the tower of London.

Mean-time Louis had thoughts of redeeming the places on the river Somme, and the others which were pledged for 400,000 gold crowns by the treaty of Arras. For that purpose he saved as much as he could, and retrenched himself in every thing except the expense of the chace, which he loved passionately. He was very plain in his dress, and loved to see every body so. He borrowed money on all hands, in order to make that valuable repurchase; and after finding the sum he wanted, he went to Hédin, where Philip received him with the respect due to him, and honestly restored to him all the places.

Whilst that treaty was in agitation, Louis had made a progress toward the frontiers of Spain, in order to terminate the war which had arisen between the kings of Castille and Arragon concerning Navarre. The king of Arragon, who wanted money at that time, engaged to Louis XI. the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaigne, for the sum of 360,000 gold

crowns,

crowns, with a power of redemption; and on Louis's arrival at Bayonne he was chosen arbiter of the differences of the two kings, but his judgment was agreeable to neither of them.

The conference that he had afterward on the banks of the river Bidaffoa with Henry IV. king of Castille, had no other effect than to give rife to the hatred and jealoufy of the two nations of France and Spain, so strictly united till that time. The pomp and magnificence of the Castillians excited the jealousy of the French, and the plainness of the latter only raised the contempt of the Castillians. For Louis, who, according to Comines, dreffed the worst that could be \*, and who was not fenfible how much exterior pomp in days of ceremony heightens the grandeur of princes in the eyes of the multitude, seemed to have affected that day still more plainness than his ufual.

The king of Castille passed the river of Bidassoa, which separated the two kingdoms, and came to wait upon Louis at the castle of Urtubie, in the territories of France. The Castillians, who had that day displayed all their magnificence, could not forbear showing their surprise at finding Louis and all his court in a dress so plain as to be displiging: for the king was clothed in a poor short coat, which was at that time indecent, and had a

<sup>[\*</sup> Se mettoit si mal, que pis ne pouvoit.]

hat which was remarkable for nothing but a leaden image of the Blessed Virgin which was tied to it. But if Henry and his courtiers were shocked with the want of splendour which attended the king of France, the latter was no less so with the contemptible mien and defect of genius in Henry, which he soon perceived in the short time that they conversed together. The two kings separated from each other equally dissatisfied.

The count de Charolois was very much displeased at the redemption of the towns of Picardy, and blamed Croy, who had, faid he, given fo bad an advice to his father. He made use of that pretext to remove him from court, to the great displeasure of the duke, who could not endure that his own fon should attempt to prescribe laws to him; but being old and decayed, he was forced to yield. The king had information that Louis of Luxemburg, count de Saint Pol, had entered into a treaty against him with the duke of Brittany and fome other princes, with whom it was fuspected that the count de Charolois had an understanding. Upon that the count de St Pol was fummoned before the parliament, where he appeared only at the third default, after making up his peace with the king, but he would never promife to abandon the interest of the count de Charolois.

An affair of greater importance quite fet that count at variance with the king. The bastard of Rubempré landing in Holland with forty tl

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forty or fifty determined men, was feized by Oliver de la Marche, a gentleman belonging to the count de Charolois then in that country. It was faid that Rubempré had secret orders to bring the count to the king dead or alive. The king fent Morvilier, chancellor of France, to the duke of Burgundy, to redemand the baftard from him, and oblige him to deliver la Marche, who had spread reports prejudicial to his honour.

The duke answered very haughtily, that la Marche belonged to the duke of Burgundy, who did not hold of the king, and that the bastard had been taken in Holland, which

was no less independent.

The count de Charolois wanting to speak, Morvilier told him, that it was not with him that he had any business, and that he was fent to demand justice, for the want of respect of which he was guilty to the king. The count asked the duke his father's permission to justify himself; and having obtained it, he spoke a long time kneeling on one knee, very judiciously and dispassionately, which highly pleafed the duke.

When Morviller was ready to retire, the count told him haughtily, that the king had procured him a hearty reprimand, but that he should repent it before a year passed, and that he wanted to warn him of it. It was eafily perceived on that occasion how irreconcileable the animofity would be between the two princes, and that it would last as long as their

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their lives. It was thought, however, that the gentle and moderate temper of the duke of Burgundy would repress, as long as he should

live, the impetuolity of his fon.

Francis duke of Brittany was at that time very strictly connected with the count de Charolois; which much displeased the king, who resolved to make him repent of it, and to seek an opportunity of attacking Brittany. He complained that that duke in the superscription of his letters intitled himself, Duke, by the grace of God. The king regarded that expression, which seemed to exclude all dependence except on God, as an innovation prejudicial to his right of sovereignty over Brittany, and which no duke or count, who was a feudatory of the crown of France, had been permitted to use.

In fact, Charles VII. his father, had, in 1442, prohibited the count d'Armagnac to call himself Count by the grace of God; and if the duke of Burgundy, during the confusions of the kingdom, had used the same form, he had, in 1449, obtained for that purpose the consent of the same king to continue to do so, and had declared, that he did not thereby pretend to prejudice the sovereignty which our kings had over the duchy of Burgundy, and over his other dominions, holding of the crown

of France.

The king therefore went to Tours, where the lords were affembled by his order, and proposed to them the just causes of complaint which 0

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which he had against the duke of Brittany, whom he accused of conspiring against the state, and obliged them to follow him in the war which he was undertaking against him. But the duke had secured himself; he had entered into a league with the count de Charolois and duke of Bourbon. That league was called, The league of the public weal, because the confederated princes at the first published a manifesto, by which they declared, according to the usual custom of rebels, that they took up arms only for the good of the flate, and the service of the king, with an intention to remove from him fuch as gave him bad counsel; to which they added that complaint so common on those occasions, that the nobility were oppressed, the people ruined by new taxes, and, in fine, the whole kingdom destroyed.

In fact, France was full of malecontents, on account of the king's making many innovations contrary to the ancient customs, and being guilty of exorbitant exactions; and even what he had ordained concerning the pragmatic fanction, so dear to the clergy, by the parliaments and universities, had not a little contributed to alienate the minds of the people. A secret negotiation was carried on, by which the confederates brought over to their party Charles duke of Berry, the king's brother, who, besides his being young, and easy to be persuaded, on account of the levity of his temper, was also dissatisfied with the small appointment

appointment which he had, and with the bad ulage which he pretended to receive from the

king his brother.

In these dispositions, the court being then at Poitiers, he escaped under pretext of going to the chace, and retired to the duke of Brittany. Many lords flocked together to join him, especially his father's old fervants, whom Louis had abused; that is to say, the persons of greatest interest in the kingdom, and most conversant in public affairs. He was much furprifed when he heard that news, and began to be fentible how much he had been in the wrong in liftening to his own passion, which had made him lofe fo many brave men, whom their long fervices under the king his father intitled to confideration. He first thought of Paris, whither he fent trufty perfons, and among the rest John de la Balue, bishop of Evreux, who had great influence with him. But perceiving that among the rebel-princes the duke of Bourbon was at oace the most malicious and the weakest, he refolved to enter upon his territories, in order to make him ferve for an example, and throw terror upon the whole party.

After ravaging the Bourbonnois, he came and belieged the duke in Riom, a fortified place in Lower Auvergne, where he was with feveral other princes. At that time information was brought him, that the count de Charolois was preparing to enter into his territories. He had found means to bring over the

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VOL. II.

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duke his father to the party; and without entering deeply into the matter, nor suspecting that it was to proceed to the last extremities, he failed not however to tell his son, that he might go boldly, and that he should not stop

for want of 100,000 men.

The count, full of confidence, marched straight to Paris, styling himself the duke of Berry's lieutenant, and proclaiming every where that he would take away the taxes. He and his men spoke only of the public good, which was the pretext of their league, called for that reason, as I have said, the league of the public weal. The king took care not to abandon the capital of the kingdom, whose example would have influenced other towns; fo he granted the duke of Bourbon and the other princes a capitulation, on promise that they should never serve against him, and marched without delay against the count.

He went immediately to Paris to make the necessary preparations. The count de St Pol, who commanded the count de Charolois's vanguard, had appeared in order of battle near to that city, to intimidate the people. Louis, after giving the proper orders at Paris, went to meet the enemy, resolved not to fight, be. cause he was the weakest. But the two armies meeting at Monthéri, Brezay seneschal of Normandy, who commanded the vanguard, engaged the main body, without minding the king's prohibition, and underwent, by his death, the punishment due to his rashness.

The count de Charolois's life-guards wanted to fight after the manner of the English, and alighted. They did not succeed in that way, and remounted; but losing time, they were repulsed, and fell back on the archers, whom they put in confusion. On the other side, the Burgundians charged Louis's troops in slank, who were attacking the artillery, and killed many of them. They were slying on both sides with incredible speed; and it may be said, that what appeared most on both sides in that battle was terror.

The two princes fought very vigorously. The king was every where supporting and encouraging his men. The count was wounded in several places, taken, and disengaged. The terror was so great in his army, that it might have been very easily deseated, but there was nobody to attack it. All the loss on both

fides was about 3000 men.

The king lost more cavalry, that is to say, more officers than common soldiers; and on the contrary, the count more common soldiers than officers. The princes remained on the sield of battle, endeavouring to rally their men. Many of those of the count's party were for renewing the battle. The count de St Pol was of a contrary opinion, thinking there was no probability of success in hazarding the army between the king and the Parisians, who might come in a very short time.

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While they were thus dubious, information was brought that the king had retired to Cor-

beil; which gave great joy in that army, and fuch as were dying with fear before, began to cry louder than all the rest to engage. The count perceiving that the king had retired, proclaimed that the victory was his; and from that time all his inclinations were changed. He began to love war, to which he had scarce any liking before. He thought himself the greatest general in the universe; he listened no longer to any counsel but for form's sake, and followed none but his own opinion.

That thought was the occasion of his own ruin, which usually happens to such as have fo good an opinion of themselves. The count entered Montlhéri, and he lived very regularly, not to irritate the people. Mean-time the princes were reforting thither from all quarters, among the rest the duke of Berry, the duke of Brittany, and that perfidious duke d'Alençon, whom Louis had made so much haste to liberate. From the first conversations that the count had with the duke of Berry, he perceived that he trembled, and that he was a person who would leave him; so that he resolved to agree with Edward king of England, though he was more inclinable for Henry VI. But the king who was come to Paris, perceiving that his enemies were stronger than he, endeavoured to gain the people, by confirming their privileges, and diminishing the taxes.

He took the advice of William Chartier, bishop of Paris, who represented to him, that

he ought to establish a good council; and, to fatisfy the Parifians, he called to it fix citizens, fix counfellors of the parliament, and fix members of the university. Nevertheless he continued to raife great fums, by way of loan, trom the officers, and obliged them to pay them in with abundance of violence; but his affairs required it, and he appealed them otherwise. He went even to the private meetings of the ladies, both of the court and of the city; he was present at their entertainments, and told there what had passed at Montlhéri, and how he had been abandoned: and this he related in fo moving a way, that icarcely could those who heard him refrain from tears. But at the same time he added, that he should foon bring the count to reason, and that he was going to exterminate him.

Thus, in the troublesome state of his affairs, he statered at once and encouraged the people. The king, after reducing Paris to the greatest regularity in his power, went into Normandy, in which the duke of Bourbon was endeavouring to raise a rebellion against him. His presence removed the sears of the towns and of the nobility; but he knew that the princes who had summoned Paris to surrender to the duke of Berry, had written to the city and all the bodies corporate, to invite them to conferences in order to treat of a peace, and that they had named deputies for that purpose. He was affronted at their intention of making a peace independent of hims

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him; fo that he resolved to come to Paris, and if he could not get admittance there, to retire to Swifferland, or to Francisco Sforce, duke of Milan, his particular friend; fo great was the extremity to which he found himself. reduced.

He had concluded a treaty with that duke. before the war concerning the public weal, by acknowledging him duke of Milan, to the prejudice of the lawful rights of Charles duke of Orleans, who was fon of Valentine of Milan, fifter of the last duke of Milan, Philip-Marie. He had left only a bastard daughter, whom Francisco had married. Louis, to engage him still more in his interest, had yielded to him the state of Genoa, on condition that he should do homage for it to France.

The king having at last got admittance into Paris, immediately broke up the conferences, and banished five or six of the deputies. But he afterward refumed the treaty himself, and had an interview with the count de St Pol, who was so audacious as to demand hostages of him, and to make him leave the city to fpeak to him in the plain. He resolved even to speak in private to the count de Charolois. For that purpose he went up the river in a boat, and coming near Conflant, where he had his quarters, as foon as he perceived him, he stretched out his hand to him, and asked whether he was safe? The count gave him the strongest assurances. The king landed, and accosting the count, told making

him, that he owned him for a gentleman, and of the royal family of France. The count asked him why? The king instantly replied, "Because," said he, "when that fool Morwilier spoke to you so haughtily as from me, though without my orders, you told him, that certainly I should repent of it before a year were passed; you have kept your word to me, and I have in fact good reason to be forry for every thing that was done at that time."

He perceived this discourse pleased the count; and at the same time he added, that it was with such people as could keep their word that he wanted to have business, and that for that reason he had come to treat with him himself. The two princes begun then to talk very freely concerning peace. Charles demanded Normandy for the duke of Berry, for himself the places on the Somme, and some others besides, and for the count de St Pol the office of constable. He added something concerning the public good, but only for form's sake, and to save in some shape the pretext of their league.

The king thought these proposals very harsh; but especially he could not resolve to give away Normandy, a province so near and so valuable, to his brother, who was of a temper so sickle, and under whose name such dangerous cabals might be raised. He retired without coming to any agreement, but he was always contriving within himself the means of

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making peace. The count was not averse from it, both because provisions began to fail him, and because the Liegeois, [the inhabitants of Liege], the old enemies of his family, had made an alliance with the king, and that he was defirous of being avenged for the outrages done him by those of Dinan, when at the time of the battle of Monthéri it was reported to them that he had been defeated.

During the negotiations, the king was informed that the castle of Rouen had been given up to the duke of Bourbon by treachery; that the town had furrendered, and that all Normandy was demanding a duke. As foon as he got this information, he returned to the count, and told him, that the peace was made. He related to him what had passed in Normandy, and at last concluded, that fince the Normans wanted a duke, he would give them his own brother. So peace was concluded on the terms which the count had proposed.

The king applied more than ever to take off from the duke the king his father's old fervants, who had attached themselves to him. He was more skilful than any one in such negotiations; he was perfectly acquainted with all the confiderable persons, not only in his own kingdom, but even among foreigners; he was informed of their talents, their humours, and their interests, and could make use of them at a proper opportunity. His brother did him homage for his new duchy, and the count de St Pol for the office of constable.

Gable.

stable. The count de Charolois went and took possession of the towns which had been yielded to him, and the duke of Normandy went to Rouen with the duke of Brittany.

They were no fooner arrived there than a difference happened between them about sharing the booty, and they had almost even come to blows. As foon as the king knew it, he entered Normandy, both to profit of their divisions, and to keep up and augment it; for he was an excellent master in those kind of artifices. He had immediately a conference with the duke of Brittany: as their mutual intention was deceit, they made a treaty which neither of them understood; but as Louis was the strongest, and was most skilful in taking his advantages, several places returned to their obedience to him. Afterward advancing as far as Pont de l'Arche, Rouen itself surrendered, and the new duke was forced to betake himself to flight.

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Mean-time the count de Charolois, who was making war on the Liegeois, was very much vexed to perceive that the king should retake Normandy; but he could not affift the duke at fuch a distance in the winter-time, especially as he himself had been beat by the Liegeois. So whatever were his designs, he was prevented by the king's dispatch, who, excepting some places which were to remain with the duke of Brittany, took possession of all the province, and gave the government of it to the constable. He made great use of the

the duke of Bourbon in that conquest. Then the two dukes perceived the blunder they had committed, and were reconciled, but too late.

Charles retired to the duke of Brittany, where he was not respected, because the king his brother had debauched all the persons of abilities about him, and had secured them to himself. The count de Charolois always pursued his point against the inhabitants of the country of Liege; he belieged Dinan. The duke his father had belieged it some time before; but as he was old and infirm, he was soon wearied with the fatigues of war; which surnished an opportunity to those of Dinan to gain him by money, and to get him to abandon the enterprise. The case was not the same with his son, who so straitened the town, that it was carried by assault, and plundered.

Those of Liege arrived the day after with succours, and the count was preparing to fight them, but they did not come to an engagement. While the two armies were in light, a peace was concluded, and the Liegeois gave the count 300 hostages, as a security for the inviolable sidelity which they promised

him.

About the same time the king, who, as we have already said, had promised to Pius II. to abolish the pragmatic sanction, presed by Paul II. and solicited by John de la Balue, bishop of Evreux, gave his letters to a legate to finish that affair. They passed without contradiction

contradiction at the Châtelet \*. The bishop of Evreux was sent by the king to carry them to the parliament in time of vacation; but he found there John de Saint Romain, procurator-general, who opposed them vigorously, and strongly supported the necessity of canonical elections.

That prelate threatening him, that the king would deprive him of his employment, he answered, that the king might do so, but that, for his part, he should never do any thing contrary to his conscience, nor contrary to the good of the state. He even upbraided Balue, that, being a bishop, he stood up as the promoter of an affair so pernicious to the church. The rector and university of Paris presented themselves before the legate, to declare to him, that they appealed to the future council against all that had passed. So things remained still in suspense, and the bishop was nevertheless exalted to the cardinalship which had been promised him.

The king, after reducing Normandy, was contriving to fight the duke of Brittany, and the new duke of Burgundy, Charles count de Charolois, who had succeeded his father Philip, who died at Bruges the 15th of June 1467. But this last being too powerful, he resolved to attack the other as the weakest; and he thought he should find that the easier,

contradidion

There were formerly two jurisdictions of this name in Paris, both which are now prisons.]

that the Liegeois had broken their treaty, and had committed hostilities against the duke of Burgundy. That prince deliberated in his council whether he should not put their hostages to death; at last, in opposition to the opinion of many of his counsellors, he took a gentler course, and pardoned them. He was not the less resolved to exterminate that town, which had so often broken its promises to him.

In that conjuncture, the king fent him as ambassadors the cardinal de la Balue and the constable de St Pol, to oblige him to abandon the duke of Brittany. He caused the duke of Burgundy to be told, that if he persisted in affifting the duke of Brittany, his majesty would likewise affist the Liegeois; if on the contrary he abandoned Brittany, his majesty should likewise abandon the Liegeois, though they were his allies. The duke refused the proposal, and marched against the Liegeois, whom he defeated in a bloody battle, after which they were forced to open to him the gates of their town. He made them pay a great fum of money, put to death five or fix of the most feditious, and demolished their against the duke, might have terminare ellew

The king, seeing these proceedings, advanced on his side with a strong army toward the territories of the duke of Brittany, whom the duke d'Alençon joined, and offered him all his places. Louis made war very faintly; he took only some castles, and chose rather to end

hazarding battles. Befides, he was very much afraid of the duke of Burgundy, and he turned his whole attention to disengage the duke

of Brittany from his brother.

He succeeded in this, so that the duke of Normandy was obliged to be satisfied with 60,000 livres of annuity \*, which was to be be paid him by the king, till his revenue [appanage] were fettled by some princes to whom he was to refer it. The two dukes lent information of this treaty to the duke of Burgundy, who was extraordinarily surprised at it. Louis, who was apprehenfive that he might cross his defigns, was intent on gaining him by every kind of address. He granted him 120,000 gold crowns, of which he paid him one half in ready money; and as he expected to bring him over to his designs, provided he spoke to him himself, he sent to him to ask a conference at Peronne. The duke could not refuse it, and sent him the passports which he which they were forced to open to beamab

Upon that affurance he went to Peronne, without reflecting that the ambassadors whom he had sent to the Liegeois to excite them against the duke, might have terminated that affair before he had sinished his own with him. In fact, Louis's ambassadors succeeded so well with the Liegeois, that they had risen in arms, and taken Tongres from the duke of

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Guineal asiat prefending, seckoning 24 livres for a council last prefending, selfies and yland alond burgundy.

Burgundy. At that news the duke fell in a passion, and caused the king to be seized, and thut up in a house, from whence he saw a tower where the count de Vermandais had kept in prison a king of France, Charles the Simple, till his death. He was continually making most violent complaints against the king, speaking always in a threatening manner, and treating him harshly; so that if he had found it agreeable to his own people, it is probable he would have gone fo far as to take

away his life.

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The king was very fensible of his danger, and did not neglect himself on so important an occasion. He spared neither promises nor money to gain those who were about Charles. It was at that time that Philip de Comines disengaged himself from that prince, to enter into the interest of the king; one of whose principal confidents he afterward was, and whose history he wrote with so much judgment. We have still letters patent of Louis XI. by which he acknowledges that that wife gentleman had done him great services in the danger in which he then was, giving him his ppinion of all that passed, and what was to be done. On the other side, the cardinal de la Balue, whom the king had raised so high, corresponded with the duke against so good a master.

At last a treaty disgraceful to him was made, by which, among other things, he was to give to his brother Champagne and Brie VOL. II. as as a portion, [pour appanage], and he was forced to follow, against the Liegeois his own allies, the duke, who was going to destroy them. The duke went and besieged the town, carrying along with him Louis, whom he led as it were in triumph, and whom he caused to be used as he pleased. The besieged, provoked that the king had abandoned them, resolved to kill him and the duke of Burgundy. For that purpose they went out in the night-time, to the number of 600 men, and by by-paths came very near to the quarters of the princes.

The noise which they made in amusing themselves with killing those they found in their passage, awakened the archers of the king's guard, who drove them back into the place. They defended themselves very well, for men that had no commanders. At last they were taken by assault, the town was pillaged and burnt; and the duke had great difficulty to save the church of St Lambert,

which was the cathedral.

The king, during all the siege, was continually full of the duke of Burgundy's praises, both in his presence and absence; he affected to admire his courage, and reckoned him among the greatest generals that ever were. Five or six days after the taking of Liege, the king bid the duke not spare him, if he had still any business for him, and said, he would willingly follow him every where, but that if he had no further use for him, he should

should be very glad to go to Paris, to get the

parliament to proclaim the peace.

The duke having granted this, he asked him what he should give to his brother in case the portion upon which they had agreed should not please him. He answered, he would refer that to what they might do together, provided

the duke of Normandy were fatisfied.

The king, who had been acquainted of the treachery of the cardinal de la Balue, had thoughts of removing him from the administration of affairs, and began to speak to him of them with much reserve and coolness. He was very sensible that he was undone, should he find no method to raise disturbance, in order to make himself necessary. The affairs of Charles the king's brother soon furnished him an opportunity.

Louis wished for nothing so ardently as to prevent him from getting Champagne and Brie, neighbouring provinces to the duke of Burgundy, from whom he might get so many succours, and fall so easily upon him; but the more he wished for that opportunity, the less he showed it. He endeavoured by all means to gain those who had the management of his brother, and caused underhand offer him Guienne, a province much greater and more

valuable than Champagne and Brie.

Charles was inclinable enough to accept it, but the duke of Burgundy laboured secretly to disfuade him from it, and the cardinal intermeddled in that affair. There was at court a prelate, whom the king had brought thither, the bishop of Verdun, who boasted of his managing the duke of Normandy; but as he had promised more than he could perform, the king reckoned little upon him. The cardinal went to him, and proposed to make a strict union between themselves, showing him, that if they could raise a difference between the two brothers, they might find a method of making themselves valuable, and should restore their own affairs.

With this intention they wrote to Charles, that he should take care not to comply with the king's inclination in offering him Guienne; that the king dreaded nothing so much as to see him in the neighbourhood of the duke of Burgundy; and that the king would find a thousand methods of destroying him, if he separated from a friend so necessary to him. Moreover, that the king wanted nothing so much as his ruin; and that even within a few days, hearing that the king of Spain had lost his brother, he had said that nothing but such another piece of good fortune was wanting to complete his happiness.

The letters were intercepted, and the king, without loss of time, ordered the cardinal and bishop to be seized. He sent two counsellors of parliament to interrogate them. The cardinal owned the fact, and said, that he expected to return into the administration by those differences. Louis immediately informed his brother of what had passed; he ordered him

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to be acquainted, that it was indifferent to him whether he took Champagne or Guienne, but that he might observe only by what kind of persons he was served. Charles accepted Guienne, and freed the king from much dread.

The two brothers afterward visited each other on a river of Anjou, with a barrier between them. The duke asked the king's pardon kneeling; and the king showing him how much his conduct was contrary to his own real interests, and to those of the kingdom, added, that he pardoned him, so much the more willingly, as he had not acted of his own accord.

With regard to the cardinal and the bishop, Louis sent to Rome two counsellors of the parliament to maintain his right of taking cognisance of a crime of that nature, even against a cardinal. Mean time he caused him to be shut up in an iron cage, which the bishop of Evreux had invented, and he was only liberated after eleven years imprisonment, on the pope's intreaty.

After the reconciliation of the duke of Guienne, every thing was peaceable in France; for the king wanted to make no war against the duke of Burgundy, nor to take from him sometimes one place sometimes another, but to raise at once, if he had been able, his whole dominions against him.

Mean-time the constable, who perceived the diminution of his office in time of peace,

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and who besides knew that if the king were at quiet, he would turn his mind to the humiliation of the grandees, did all he could to engage him in a troublesome war. For that purpose he came and represented to him the bad condition of the duke of Burgundy's affairs; he assured him, that he could easily take St Quentin from him, because that place was in the middle of his own territories, and that besides he could raise against him a great many of his other towns in which he had correspondences.

The king, whose secret designs were conformable to that proposal, allowed himself to be persuaded; and, in order to declare the war with greater solemnity, he assembled the three estates, and represented to them the causes he had to be dissatisfied with the duke. It was unanimously resolved, that he should be summoned to appear before the parliament. The king knew that the duke would answer with haughtiness, and that that would be a new cause of complaint. The duke did not fail so to do, and immediately the constable

entered his territories.

He presently took St Quentin, the inhabitants of which gave their oath of fidelity to the king. A little after he took Montdidier and Roye, and then sat down before Amiens. The duke had not then made his entry into that city, because he would not enter it but with a superior force, which the burghers would never allow; so in that state of sluctuation

tuation between the king and the duke, when they saw the king's army so near them, they furrendered to him.

Mean-time the constable, who wanted not to give Louis an entire victory over his enemy, but to balance things, in order to support himself between the two princes, induced the duke of Guienne to demand Mary, only daughter and heires of the duke of Burgundy, and endeavoured to give the latter to understand, that that was the sole method of re-

storing his affairs.

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The duke was loath to give her to him, because he intended to propose her to all the princes in Europe, in order by that means to bring them over to his party; he however gave the duke fair promises, which came to nothing. During those negotiations, the king's army defeated in Burgundy that of the duke, who, on his fide, took Perpigny, a strong caltle in Picardy. He came afterward and took post between Amiens and Dourlens, where he intrenched himself, according to his cuftom, in an advantageous ground. He was furrounded by our army, and fo straitened, that he would have been obliged to furrender at discretion. In this condition he wrote to the king, demanding a truce for a year; and the king, who delighted not in tedious affairs, willingly granted it, to the great diffatisfaction of the constable, who hated the duke of Burgundy, because he had not given his daughter to the duke of Guienne.

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Amidst so many civil wars, France might have been exposed to great inconveniencies from the English; but their domestic confusions prevented them from attempting any thing abroad. A little after the rout of Queen Margaret, already mentioned, Edward perceiving that Louis alone was capable of restoring the family of Lancaster, bethought himself of an accommodation with him. He sent him for that purpose the earl of Warwick, to demand in marriage Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France.

While the count was busied about that negotiation, and about the union of the two kings, Edward, who in every thing was ruled by his passion, married an English young lady, of whom he had become enamoured. Warwick was so provoked at his thus making a jest of him, that from that time he resolved to ruin him, whenever he should have an opportunity. Louis endeavoured in vain to be reconciled with Edward, for fear he should join the duke of Burgundy; but Edward declared for that duke, who even married his sister; and though his inclination was for Henry, as we have said, his interest united him with Edward.

In the sequel there happened a considerable insurrection in the principality of Wales, which afforded Warwick an opportunity to execute his design, and be avenged of Edward. He took upon him the command of the insurgents, and declaring for King Henry,

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he defeated Pembroke, one of Edward's generals. A fecond battle was fought, in which he defeated Edward himself, and took him prisoner. But that prince made his escape out of that confinement, and having got together again some troops, he drove Warwick out of which is added, that the wives with binklgna

The earl wanting to retire to Calais, of which he was governor, Beauclerc his lieurenant shut the gates against him. He came into France, where Louis promised him succours to recover his affairs. Mean time Edward passed his life in hunting, gaming, and gallantry, without ever dreaming that Warwick might return, notwithstanding the information which the duke of Burgundy was continually giving him; so that Warwick surprifed him, and made himself master of England in eleven days, obliged Edward to take refuge with the duke of Burgundy, and restored Henry to the throne.

Ever after the time of Edward's defeat, the duke had declared that he needed not him to maintain the peace with England, because he had been so cautious as to have it inserted in the treaty, that it was made with the king and kingdom. He did not fail however to receive him, and to give him succours, not in-deed so many as Edward expected, but as many as he could in the necessity of his own affairs; for the war was at that time managed with great keenness against Louis, who had just taken from him St Quentin and Amiens.

Edward

Edward with that succour returned to London, where he was well received, for three reasons: First, because he had a son very much beloved by the people; secondly, because he owed great sums to the merchants, and they were assaid to lose their debts; to which is added, that the wives with whom he had intrigues, had gained over their husbands to him. He marched against Warwick, and gave him battle on Easter-day. There the duke of Clarence deserted Warwick, which threw his army into confusion; the battle was nevertheless very obstinate, but at last Warwick was vanquished.

There remained still to be defeated Henry and the queen, who had a numerous army. Edward, slushed with victory, beat them. Their son Edward prince of Wales was killed on that occasion; the king and queen were taken, and their army put to slight. Edward sent Margaret to France, and put Henry again in the tower of London, where he put him to death some time after. So he remained peaceable, and recovered in twenty days the king-

dom which he had loft in eleven.

Mean-time the duke of Guienne was always foliciting his marriage with the princess of Burgundy, and pushed to it by the constable, he pressed the duke her father so earnestly, that he was forced to promise her to him. He had however made the same promise to the duke of Savoy, the duke of Lorraine, and Maximilian duke of Austria, son of e

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of the Emperor Frederic, to whom the princess had written by her father's order, and sent him a diamond. This last got her at last, but not till after the duke's death, who all his life intended nothing but to traffic with his daughter, and not to give her to any one whatsoever.

The prospect of the marriage of the duke of Guienne with so rich an heiress disturbed Louis, who was afraid of nothing so much as to see his brother so powerful. Edward was no less perplexed, because he perceived that that prince would be too formidable to England, should he succeed to the kingdom of France, after having augmented it with so many provinces. He was in the wrong to vex himself in seeking out obstacles against that marriage, to which the duke made more than all the world besides.

It was the king's custom to keep peace with his enemies as long as his own advantage required it, and he had at that time a concern which obliged him to accommodate matters with the duke. Their agreement was at last resolved, on condition that the king should restore to the duke of Burgundy Amiens and St Quentin, and should give up to him the constable, and Charles likewise on his side was to give up the dukes of Guienne and Brittany. The accommodation had not its effect by reason of the sudden death of the duke of Guienne. The king was suspected of getting him poisoned. Some historians relate, that

he had been heard speaking to a little image of the Virgin, [Natre-dame de Cleri], which he honoured superstitiously, and asking her pardon for his treatment of his brother; "but," added he, "he was an intermeddling prag"matical fellow, who would have disturbed the kingdom as long as he had lived."

Immediately after the duke's death, the king loft no time to march into Guienne, and make himself master of it. He caused also a strong army to march toward Brittany to keep the duke in awe. With respect to the duke of Burgundy, Louis very little regarded the peace made with him. Charles, who was haughty and passionate, perceiving that the king spoke coally of peace, flew out into a very great fury, and burnt all the country in the neighbourhood of his own territories. He besieged Beauvais, which he had like to have carried by affault, and refolved to fet fire to it. On his being repulsed, he burnt all the country as far as the gates of Rouen, and took fome places, which were easily retaken in the winter-time, when he had retired.

Mean-time the king gained Lescun, a man of quality and merit, who had belonged to the duke of Guienne, and who managed the duke of Brittany. Not that he valued that duke, who had little sense or virtue, but so powerful a prince under the direction of such a man was to be dreaded. Peace was concluded between the two princes, in consideration of a great pension which the king granted

granted to the duke, who, on his side, renounced the alliance with England and Bur-

gundy.

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Lescun had for his reward a government, and the county of Comminge. The duke respectfully received the badge of the order of St Michael, instituted by the king, which he had refused a little before. As foon as the duke of Burgundy perceived that the duke of Brittany had made an accommodation with the king, he made likewise a truce, during which there were frequent conferences about destroying the constable. The king hated and dreaded him; and the duke was no less his enemy, though he always kept fair with him, and kept him with him, in expectation

of getting back St Quentin.

A meeting was held at Bouvines, in order to agree on the methods of destroying him. He was foon acquainted of it; and to prevent the evil which threatened him, he caused represent to the king, how useful he might be to him against the ambitious designs of the duke of Burgundy. Upon that Louis thought proper to interrupt the conferences at Bouvines; but the treaty was finished when the order arrived to stop proceeding, and it was agreed, that the constable should be declared an enemy to the two princes, with all fuch as should assist him, and that the first who should be able to take him, should be bound to put him to death within eight days, or to deliver him up to the other. The duke got St Quen-VOL. II.

tin, Ham, and Bohain, and all the constable's moveables; and they were to join to besiege him in Ham, whither he was wont to retire.

This is what was agreed when the king's orders arrived; but the ambassadors were in so good an understanding, that they made no dissiculty to deliver up to each other the signed treaties. The constable demanded of the king an interview, which was to be held in the open sields, with a barrier between them, and guards on either side. His pretext was the malice of his enemies, from whom, he said, he had every thing to apprehend. The proposal was bold for the constable, and disgraceful for the king; but as he thought the thing advantageous to his own interests, he resolved upon it notwithstanding all those considerations.

The conference happened as it had been projected. That fight furprised all those who were present; so great a king appearing with his own fubject and officer, each with his guards, in the same way as is practifed between two fovereigns, offended every body, and the constable himself was ashamed of it. He passed over to the king's side, but without abating any thing of his haughtiness. He thought the king timid, and he was not deceived; but he ought to have confidered, that that prince, timorous and circumspect as he was in his temper, knew well when there was any just cause of fear, and that at other times he did not fail to take his advantage. The

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The constable had a pretty long conversation with him, and afterward published every where, either from perfualion or from cunning, that he was on the best terms possible with the king. He did not consider what it was to put his master in fear, and to treat on equal terms with him. About the same time Louis married Anne, his eldest daughter, to Peter de Bourbon, count de Beaujeu. duke of Burgundy at that time took possession of the duchy of Gueldres, which fell to him in this manner. Arnold duke of Gueldres had a fon named Adolphus, who, thinking that his father reigned too long, attempted to disposses him, and was so inhumane as to carry him off forcibly, and make him walk after him five German leagues \* bare-footed, in cold weather, and then shut him up in a dun-

All Christendom had a detestation at that action. The pope and the emperor obliged the duke of Burgundy to attempt the liberation of Arnold; which he did much about the time that the king retook Amiens. He failed not underhand to favour Adolphus, and to do him a pleasure he proposed that the father should have the town of Grave for his retirement, with six thousand storins, and the title of duke; and that the son should have the command, under the name of governor.

To this proposal that unnatural son answer-

<sup>[ \*</sup> Above twenty English miles.]

ed, (I shudder to repeat it), that rather than consent to it, he would chuse to throw his father into a well with his head foremost, and be thrown in after him; besides, his father had reigned forty-four years, and it was now his turn.

After so brutal an answer, Adolphus, not able to endure the looks of mankind, made his escape, and being retaken where he was concealed, he was put in prison, and Arnold restored to his dominions, which he left by will to the duke of Burgundy, not being willing to leave the enormous ingratitude of his son unpunished. As for Adolphus, he continued in prison during all the lifetime of the duke of Burgundy; after which he was killed at Tournay, and was as unhappy as impious and mischievous.

The duke of Burgundy, proud of his new acquisition, thought of nothing farther than taking possession of it. The truce with France was about to expire, and many advised the king not to continue it, and to permit his enemy to augment his power and his dominions, by joining to them the duchy of Gueldres. It was represented to him, that he had the pretext of the son's being still alive, and that it was not just, that, for his ingratitude, the duchy should be transferred into another family.

Such as were better acquainted with the duke of Burgundy's humour, gave far other counsels. They told the king, that that duke

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was of a temper ambitious, enormoully enterprifing and audacious, who conceived defigns above his strength; that it was proper to allow him to engage in the affairs of Germany, in which he would not fail to involve himself on the first opportunity, under the pretext of the nearness of his dominions; that he would by that means infentibly fallinto very great perplexities; and that in fine the greatest mischief that could befal him in the present occurrences, was to suffer him to act as he pleased. The king followed this: last opinion, and it succeeded with him.

A contest arising concerning the archbishopric of Cologne, between a prince of the house: of Hesse and a palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Burgundy did not fail to intermeddle in it, and engaged on the side of the palatine. He fancied he had already subdued Cologne, and all the Rhine, as far as his own earldom of Holland, for he expected no less, and with that intention belieged Nuys. Mean-time the inhabitants of Cologne, and the other neighbouring towns, affifted Nuys with men and money, and cut off the duke's provisions,. who, with the finest army in the world, found himself, by that means, very much embarraffed.

When the king perceived him engaged, and beginning to be resolutely bent on the fiege of that place, he remonstrated to the emperor, and to all the other princes of the empire, the necessity there was of succour-

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ing it, and promised them 20,000 men to excite them the more effectually; yet he had no great intention to give them.

The emperor employed feven months in

railing an army, for all that time was necessary for him to put in motion all the electors, and all the bodies-corporate of the empire. He then went and took post before Nuys, with a far more numerous army than the duke had, and he fent to demand of the king the 20,000 men which he had promifed, otherwise that he would make a feparate peace for himself.

The king gave him hopes, and during that time he was treating of a peace, or a truce, with the duke, in order to hinder the English from entering the kingdom; whilft the king of England, who was ready to pass the sea, was soliciting him to abandon so vain an enterptife, in order to fall upon France. The duke, contrary to the advice of all his friends, was bent on continuing a siege, which made him lose the opportunity of undertaking things more necessary for his designs. The king, on the contrary, profited of the time; and whilst the duke was unnecessarily consuming his forces, the king was stirring up on all hands enemies against him.

At his folicitation, Reynold, duke of Lor-Taine, fent to declare war against him, even in his camp, and entered at the same time into the duchy of Luxemburg. He likewife united against him the Swifs cantons and the towns of the Upper Rhine, and pro-

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cured, besides, a treaty between Sigismund duke of Austria, and the Swiss, to get back the county of Ferrete, which is a canton of Higher Alsace, in the neighbourhood of Basil, then engaged to the duke for 100,000 florins\*.

The governor being surprised by an unexpected attack, the Swifs had him beheaded, and subjected the whole county to the duke of Austria, On the other side, they took Blamont, and Louis entered Picardy, after the expiration of the truce. He would willingly have continued it, because he chose to manage matters securely, and rather to see others act than to act himself; but as he saw no appearance of the duke's continuing the truce, he took Montdidier, Roye, and Corbie, and, which was unbecoming so great a king, he caused them to be burnt, contrary to the capitulation.

The terror of his arms was immediately foread in the duke of Burgundy's countries, and all were ready to yield to him. The constable was afraid of those great successes; and as he saw his own destruction certain, if he allowed the duke to be ruined, he gave the king several salse informations, tending only to amuse him. Sometimes he acquainted him, that the emperor and the duke of Burgundy were agreed, and that both were

confederated

<sup>[\*</sup> About 10,937 l. 10 s. Sterling, reckoning, as at this time, a florin equal to fifty four French, and twenty-four livres equal to a guinea.]

confederated against him; and sometimes he informed him, that the king of England was about to land in Normandy. He even gave him so hot an alarm, that the king marched speedily into that province, where he found every thing quiet, and no news of the English.

Mean-time the emperor was desponding before Nuys, and Louis, to keep up his spirits, sent him a proposal to confiscate the duke of Burgundy's estates holden of the empire, whilst he should confiscate those holden of France, so that the spoils of that powerful family should be divided between them two. The emperor was not a man of so great abilities as Louis; but long experience had taught him the art of government. He answered, by a fable, to the person whom the king had sent him.

Some debtors, said he, had told their creditor, who was pressing them, that they were going to kill a great bear which was ravaging all the country, and that they would pay him with his skin, and with the recompense which they should get; then going to the hunting, and meeting the bear sooner than they had expected, one of the hunters had climbed up a tree, another had sled toward the town, and a third had acted the dead man, because he knew that animal left dead bodies without touching them. The bear staying held his snout long upon the face, and about the ears of the pretended dead

dead man, went his way, and left him. The two fugitives returned, and asked their companion, what secret the bear had so long whispered into his ear: "He told me," answered he, "not to bargain about the bear's "skin, till we have him in possession." He added, that the king need only send his twenty thousand men, and when the duke's dominions were taken, it would then be time to divide them.

Mean-time the constable, who equally suffected Louis and Charles, was treating with both. When he was afraid of the king, he promised Charles to restore St Quentin; and when the sear was over, he made a joke of those to whom he had promised to surren-

der the place.

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On the other side, on receiving the king's orders to beliege Avene \*, he with great difficulty determined upon it; but immediately after he raised the siege, and told the king, by way of excuse, that he was not in safety of his person; and that he knew that Louis had given orders to assassinate him. That saying made the king suspicious, and shewed him, that somebody had spoken too freely.

Whatever be in that, it is but too true, that that prince was capable of such designs, and that he was strangly afraid of the constable. Every day he received from him, or sent him some message; and though often

<sup>[</sup> Avefaes.] tov cow od tant abdomind to

deceived, he was intent upon treating him with caution, for fear that so dangerous a man should strengthen the party of his ene-

mies, by giving them some places.

The duke of Burgundy was almost as much embarrassed before Nuys. He was upon honour to carry that place, and chose rather to fee his army perish, than to raise the siege. At last, pressed on one side by the king, who had entered Picardy, and on the other, by the king of England, he resolved upon a retreat, after having been more than a year before Nuys; and, to fave his honour, he confented to deliver the place into the hands of the pope's legate, who was then about him, in order to treat of an accommodation. Had he waited fifteen days, the inhabitants had been forced to furrender to him with a rope about their necks. The duke boafted every where, that the finest army the empire had ever raised had not been able to oblige him to raise the siege.

About the same time, the king of England landed at Calais, whence he sent to declare war against Louis, by a herald, who brought him a letter, in which Edward demanded restitution of the kingdom of France, otherwise that he was resolved to recover it by

force of arms.

Louis took the herald aside, and told him, that he knew that Edward had not declared war against him of his own accord; but that he had been instigated to do so by the duke of Burgundy; that he was very much surprised

prised that he should join a prince who had just ruined his army before Nuys; and that as to the constable, in whom he had so much confidence, it was eafy to perceive, that he would want nothing but the means of deceiving him. After faying to him these words, he ordered some money to be given him, and promised him more, if he found a method of infinuating some proposals of

peace.

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He was then perceived to come out of his closet with a fatisfied countenance; he nevertheless felt great uneasiness; for he perceived he was attacked on all hands. He knew that the duke of Brittany had promifed to join the king of England, and that the constable was raising as many as possibly he could against him; but he had still greater fears from his own fubjects, whom he knew disposed to revolt, than from the enemy. Among fo many disquieting thoughts, he appeared with a free air, taking aside sometimes one, and fometimes another, and conversing with them chearfully, not to terrify the court and the people.

It is proper to consider why he was so much afraid of his subjects, and why he so earnestly courted peace, by ways that feemed for mean. He knew he was hated by the grandees; his jealousy of temper naturally inclined him to humble them; and, besides, he was not ignorant of the cabals formed by the duke of Burgundy and the constable. He

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was no better beloved by the people, whom he burdened extraordinarily, because the money which he laid out every where for intelligence, and the prodigious armies which he kept on foot, obliged him to endless expenses. For as he dreaded the hazard of battles, especially after that of Montheri, he made his armies so strong, that hardly could they be defeated.

This prince was even hated by his domestics, though he was very liberal to them; but they could have no considence in him, on account of his distrustful and variable temper. In fine, he preferred the sear of mankind to their love, and he in his turn was asraid that his people should seize an opportunity of rebelling against him. Wherefore, unsecure at home, he avoided as much as possible having any disputes abroad.

As soon as the duke of Burgundy heard of the king of England's landing, he went and waited upon him without any troops; for he had sent his army to be refreshed in the duchy of Bar, and likewise to be avenged of the duke of Lorraine, who had wantonly declared war against him. The English took his behaviour very much amiss; for they expected to see him begin the war three months before their arrival, and they thought by that means they should have the king at a cheaper rate, when they should find him previously weakened. They thought, at least, that the duke would be in a condition, at their landing,

landing, to join them with some troops. Instead of that, they saw, that, after losing so much time at Nuys, he was still amusing the remains of his army in the duchy of Bar, and was allowing the time of action to pass

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Such were the causes of the distatisfaction of the English; but they were much stronger in the sequel. The constable sent word to the duke of Burgundy, that he had not been able till then to restore him St Quentin, because he should have lost all credit in France, and that he should have been incapable of gaining any one to the party; but that the war was about to begin in earnest; and that the king of England was arrived, and he was ready to do whatever he pleased. Upon these words the king of England and the duke marched to St Quentin.

The English expected that the bells should be rung at their arrival, and that they should be welcomed in ceremony; but they were much surprised, to be received at the mouths of the heavy artillery, and with sharp skirmishing on foot and on horseback. They retired in great confusion, and the duke went and rejoined his troops. The king of England, reslecting on the bad state of affairs, the imprudence of the duke of Burgundy, and the few troops that he had, appeared disposed to make a peace, the rather that the season was

far advanced.

In the mean time, the English took a foot-Vol. II. R man man belonging to a gentleman of the king's household; he was carried to the king of England, who interrog ted and returned him. Two English lords, the one called Howard, the other Stanley, begged him to recommend them to the king his master, if he might speak to him. On his arrival at Compiegne, where the king was, he demanded to speak to him on a business of very great consequence, and told him what he had been ordered.

The king at the first doubted his honesty, because his master's brother was in Brittany, well treated by the duke. He remembered, however, that the herald, when going away, had advised him to send to Edward, and to apply to the two lords who had spoken to that sootman. He began to think seriously on what was to be done, and sat down to table very pensive, as frequently happened to him.

After remaining some time in that state, without saying a word, he called Comines, and made known to him his intentions, and ordered him to bring him a certain sootman, whom he described. He intended to send that sootman, in a herald's dress, to the king

of England.

Comines, on performing his commission, came and reported to Louis, that he thought he made a despicable appearance, and thence took an opportunity of representing, that a man of greater quality ought to be employed; but the

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the king would not confent, and gave his instructions to that footman, whose good sense he had discovered, by having only once spoken to him by chance.

He then put on a herald's coat, and applied to Howard and Stanley, according to his orders. Being presented to Edward, he first made Louis's apology, with regard to the protection which he had given to Warwick; he affirmed, that his mafter's intention in that matter was not to oppose Edward, but the duke of Burgundy; that, besides, that duke had engaged Edward in the war, only for his own interest, and the more easily to make his agreement with Louis; that the rest had likewise their own ends in view, and would abandon the king of England, as foon as their own purposes were served; and that, in fine, if Edward pleased, his master would fend ambassadors, to conclude a peace, on conditions which should satisfy him and his kingdom.

Thus the footman executed with prudence what the king had commanded him. He likewise brought him back good words, and assured him, that he might send ambassadors to treat of the peace, when he pleased.

The armies being only at four leagues distance from each other, the conferences were begun the very day after. Matters were almost settled the first day. The king of England demanded 72,000 crowns to be paid to him in ready money; that a marriage should

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be concluded between the dauphin, who was then but a child, and the king of England's daughter; that Louis should give Guienne for the maintenance of the future dauphiness, or fifty thousand crowns, which were to be fent yearly to London for nine years; that, at the end of that period, the dauphin and dauphiness should peaceably enjoy the revenue of the duchy of Guienne, and then the king should be free from that payment to the king of England. In this manner Philip de Comines mentions that treaty.

When the king had heard these proposals, he conceived great hopes. He knew that the king of England, a prince addicted to his pleasures, would soon be wearied of war. He was besides acquainted with his just distatisfactions, fo that he was in no doubt of peace. He spoke of it to his council, and told them that he would do every thing to have it except giving lands, but that rather than come to

that, he would hazard every thing.

Mean-time he continued fending to the constable to soften him, and likewise for fear of his delivering up to the English some of his places. The constable, on his side always uneasy, and remembering Bouvines, sent him every day some one of his attendants in great fecrecy. The king then refolved to make use of his own messengers, to let him be better known to the duke of Burgundy.

He had about him the lord of Contai, an intimate confident of the duke, whom he had

taken

taken prisoner, and who went frequently on his parole to carry the king's proposals to his master, and those of his master to the king. He called Contai, and had him hid behind a hanging to hear the proposals which the constable's messengers should make him.

They told him, that the duke was in wrath against the king of England, and that they had been sent to beg him not only to abandon the English, but even to pillage them. Thereupon they began to mimic the duke, to stamp like him on the ground, to make him swear by St George, giving Edward much abusive language, calling him one-eyed, and adding to this every kind of mockery; in sine, they forgot nothing in order to represent his violent and impetuous humour.

The king in the mean time burst out alaughing, and seigning to be somewhat deaf, obliged them to repeat and speak louder, that Contai might hear every thing; and how his master was derided. They who wanted nobetter, willingly began again, adding always something, the better to divert the king.

In the middle of their talk, they told the king that the constable advised him to clap up a good truce with the English, and give them some little places in which they might winter. He thought by that means to comfort them for his refusing them St Quentin, and to appeale them at the king's expense.

Louis gave them no answer, and, after making them talk enough for his own purpose,

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he dismissed them, telling them that he would make known his intentions to his brother; so he called the constable, because he had married Queen Charlotte of Savoy's sister. Immediately he run up hastily, laughing, to Contai, whom he found in the disposition he wished, that is, very much irritated that they laughed at his master, and at treaties. The king dispatched him with all speed to the duke of Burgundy, with his cre-

dentials and instructions.

When the constable's envoys had proposed to the king to give some places to the English in which to pass the winter, he made them no answer: but afterward he was very much perplexed, and for fear the constable should disturb the peace, he offered himself to the English Eu and St Valeri. A truce was concluded for nine years, on the conditions proposed by the English. It was resolved that the interview between the two kings should be held at Pequigny, to swear to the peace; and that the king of England, after receiving the money which was to be given him, should return into his own kingdom.

The duke of Bur undy had no fooner heard the first accounts of the treaty, than he set out in all haste with only fifteen attendants, and came and asked Edward in what condition matters were; he answered, he had made a treaty, in which he and the duke of Brittany should be comprehended if they inclined.

Then the duke of Burgundy fell into a most violent

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violent fit of passion, telling the king of England to remember the glory and great actions of his ancestors; that he had not brought him for his own interest, but to give him an opportunity of recovering his lost dominions; and that otherwise he had so little need for him, that he should not make any truce with Louis till three months after Edward should repass the sea.

All this conversation served only the more to irritate the king of England against the duke of Burgundy. The constable succeeded no better. He offered money to Edward, to prevent him from making a disadvantageous agreement. He told him that he would do well always to take Eu and St Valeri, and that afterward he should endeavour to lodge him better. All this was done without giving Edward any security, and in hopes of amusing

him with fair promifes.

The king of England answered, that he had made a peace, and that the constable's insidelities had forced him to do so. When he was informed of that dry answer, he despaired, and almost no longer doubted of his own ruin. Mean-time, on the approach of the conference, the English came to Amiens, where the king ordered them to be magnificently entertained, and torbid any money to be taken at the inns. Every thing was done at the king's expense, who had ordered to set tables in the streets, covered with all kinds of wines and exquisite provisions.

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The English, attracted by that reception, entered it fo great numbers, that the town began to be alarmed, and there was at last a necessity to acquaint the king of it, though it was one of those festivals in which that prince, more superstitious than religious, reckoned it a missortune, if business was mentioned to him.

The king did not persist, and comprehending the consequence of the thing, he caused some men secretly to take arms; then he mounted his horse, very well attended, and ordered his own dinner to the gate of the city, whither he invited to dine with him a part of the lords of Edward's court. It was soon discovered that the English had no other inten-

tion but to drink and make merry.

The king of England, ashamed of the confusion which his men occasioned, sent to intreat the king to remedy it. He begged to be excused, and Edward himself ordered a guard at the ports to hinder his men from entering. Every thing was at that time prepared at Pequigny for the conference. There was a bridge over the river at a place that was not fordable, a barrier on the bridge in which was a lattice for passing through their arms, and in fine all other things necessary for so solven a conference.

The king arrived first at the place appointed, and the king of England a little time after. When he came near enough to the

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king, he uncovered, and made a bow, bending his knee within half a foot of the ground; and accosting the king, he made one still more profound. The two kings embraced each other through the lattice, and begun to talk together. Louis first told Edward, that he had desired nothing so much as to see him, and that he blessed God they had met with so good an intention. Edward answered him in pretty good French, and with like demonstrations of kindness.

After some such conversation, Louis, who kept always the superiority in that meeting, made a signal to every one to retire, and that he should be very glad to speak to the king of England. He asked him what he should do if the duke of Burgundy would not hearken to peace. Edward answered, that the king might do with him as he should think proper. He put the same question concerning the duke of Brittany; but Edward begged him not to make war against him: to which the king replied, "What shall I do, if he will not accept of peace?" "If you make war against him," returned Edward, "I shall come back and defend him."

This answer vexed the king; but as he was acute and ready, he would not show his displeasure, and called back the company with a chearful countenance. Then he asked Edward if he would not come to Paris, and said he should take care to divert him there. Upon that the conversation turned into pleasant-

ry, and the princes retired with testimonies

of mutual good-will.

The day after the interview, the constable fent the king his deputies, who spoke very humbly, and evidently showed that their master had lost all hopes. He excused himself to the king, on the accusation brought against him of carrying on a correspondence with his enemies, and said that the effects had evidently shown the contrary. Besides, he offered him to engage the duke of Burgundy to fall upon the English, and plunder them.

The king gave no answer, but only acquainted him, in a letter which he wrote him, of what had passed the night before, and that he was fully agreed with the English; that he had still however much important business on hand, and stood in great need of so good a

head as his.

The envoys returned very well satisfied with that saying; and as soon as they were gone, the king showed the letter to Howard, and told him that it was only the head he wanted, and that he cared little for the rest of the body. In this manner, after settling his

affairs, he joked at his eafe.

The same Howard, being at table with him, said that a method could be found to bring the king of England to Paris. The king, who did not hear that proposal with pleasure, changed the conversation, and eluded that visit on pretext of business that he had with the duke of Burgundy. He told Comines

Comines in private, that Edward was a man of pleasure; that he should find at Paris some women with whom he would be pleased, and who should give him a defire to return once more; that that would not be convenient for him, and the English had been but too much in France.

He felt a very great pleasure in having concluded fo advantageous a peace, and in having, by his address and his money, rendered so formidable an armament useless. He laughed within himself at the king of England; and as he was inclinable to raillery, it was extremely difficult for him to refrain from it; but the dread of displeasing the English, who are a people nice and passionate, shut his mouth. One day that he was with two or three of his most familiar courtiers, he was laughing at the good effect of his prefents: he perceived all at once that he might be overheard by a Gascon merchant, settled in England, who had come to ask him some favours; immediately he gave orders for some gratification to be given him, and in order to bind him to secrecy, he took a particular care of his family.

That prince was wont to fay that his tongue did him ill offices by its nimbleness, and that it likewise frequently did him good fervices; but that when it had failed, it was his business to repair the damages which it had occasioned. He was not only careful to refrain himself from speaking, but also to

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restrain others from awakening the English by their discourses.

Comines reported to him, that a Gascon, who belonged to the king of England, had told him that the French had made fools of the English in that treaty, and that Edward, after gaining nine great battles, had just lost a tenth against Louis, which had essayed the glory of the rest. The king immediately said that forry jester must be silenced: at the same time he sent for him, and endeavoured to engage him in his service. As he declined it, he promised to take care of his brothers, and dismissed him with rich presents, inviting him to keep up the good understanding between the two kingdoms.

The king of England, when he had received his money, retired to Calais, and, agreeably to the treaty, left hostages till he should be returned to his own kingdom. He also delivered up to Louis two letters which the constable had written to him, and sent him another, in which he explained to him all the proposals

which the constable had made to him.

As soon as the king was informed of Edward's arrival at Dover, he came to Vervins, where the ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy concluded a truce with him for nine years, as the English had done; but the publication of it was deferred for three months, on account of what the duke had said to Edward. Thus the king was extricated out of

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a very dangerous war by his address and patience.

The king began then to turn his whole thoughts on ruining the constable. He was so desirous to get rid of this pernicious person, that, to bind the duke of Burgundy to conspire his destruction along with him, the king consented to give the duke St Quentin, and in general every thing that had been former-

ly offered him at Bouvines.

The constable soon perceived that something fatal was hatching, and faw no way of avoiding his evil destiny. He knew Edward had delivered up his letters to Louis, and despaired of being able to appeale him. He had no less offended the duke of Burgundy, fo that he knew not what refolution to take. Sometimes he had thoughts of flying into Germany, and of purchasing there some places on the Rhine: fometimes he thought of holding out the castle of Ham, which is naturally very strong, and which he had provided with every thing. But what place could he find able to defend him against the power of a king of France with fo ftrong an army? and how could he expect to defend himself in Ham, where was no body but who belonged either to the king or the duke, and who might be easily gained?

Thus a man so powerful, so rich, so able, of a birth so illustrious, and so highly allied, who intended to give laws to so great a king, and to a prince who never would yield to

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kings, finds himself by his ambition reduced to such a state that he knows not what shall become of him. At last he was forced in despair to throw himself into the arms of the duke of Burgundy, whom he thought the most likely person to protect him against Louis.

After obtaining a passport from that duke, he went to Mons in Hainault, where he was guarded by the duke's orders. The king sent immediately some troops to present themselves before St Quentin, the gates of which were opened to him without scruple. He acquainted the duke of Burgundy with that event, for fear he should renew some treaty with the constable to get back that place, and at the same time summoned him to deliver up the prisoner to him according to

the treaty.

At that time the duke was busied in the conquest of Lorraine, which he had already entirely taken, except Nancy, which he was besieging. He was afraid of being disappointed in his enterprise by the king, who had a powerful army, and who had with him the duke of Lorraine; so he promised to give up the constable, and sent him to Péronne, with orders to his men to deliver him over to the king, within a certain time. He expected in that time to take Nancy; and in that case it is probable he would not have executed the treaty, without making new proposals; but as the siege grew tedious, and the king

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was anxiously pressing, he was obliged at last to deliver up the constable into his hands. Whilft he was thinking of breaking his word to that unhappy lord, he was himself betray-

This was Nicolas de Campobasche, a Neapolitan gentleman, whom the duke had raifed from abject poverty to the highest respect, and to whom he had given his particular confidence. From this first siege of Nancy he had begun to betray his master. It was he who prolonged this siege, by making weak attacks, and advising the belieged not to furrender. That wicked fellow advanced still farther, and offered to the king to rid him of the duke, which was very eafy for him to do.

Louis abhorred his perfidy; and as he suspected him of a design to deceive him, he discovered the treachery to the duke, whom he was very glad to give that testimony of his kindness and honesty. That prince, who acted folely by caprice, though the tokens of the treachery which Louis discovered to him, were certain, took a fancy in his head, that if the thing had been true, Louis would have been far from advising him of it, and that he wanted by that artifice to make him diffident of a faithful fervant, fo that he was more strongly attached than ever to that traitor.

The king caused the constable to be put in the Bastille, and his trial was brought on, in which

which were produced his letters to the king of England, and those which he wrote to the duke of Bourbon, to excite him to rebellion, with other writings which convicted him. After his trial was finished, the chancellor, who had prefided in it, had him brought to the palace, where the collar of the o: der of the Holy Ghoft, and the constable's fword were redemanded from him. Then the first president declared him guilty of high treason, and fentenced him to have his head cut off the same day.

However guilty he was, he did not expect that sentence, so much are men accustomed to flatter themselves. He caused the king to be informed of his forrow for having failed in his duty; and, after fettling the affairs of his conscience, he was led to execution, giving

great figns of repentance.

The king gave the duke of Burgundy, according to the treaty, St Quentin and the other places promifed, with the constable's money and moveables. Mean-time the duke finished his conquest of Lorraine; but as he set no bounds to his ambition, and as he intended nothing less than to make himself a king by his conquests, he engaged in new enterprises.

That prince was fensible that he was dreaded by all his neighbours. The duke of Milan had renounced an alliance with the king, to engage in one with him. King René, or Reynald, of Sicily, the king's uncle, intended to give Charles his county of Provence,

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and acquainted him of all the proposals made to him in behalf of Louis. The duchess of Savoy, the king's own sister, no longer listened to him, and she was absolutely devoted to the duke of Burgundy.

Perceiving his power so high, he thought he should easily get the better of the Swiss, against whom he declared war, both for the county of Ferrete, and to protect against them the count of Romont, to which they had done some injustice. The king wrote to the duke to diffuade him from attacking the Swifs, with whom there was nothing to be gained; and he engeged him to come rather to a conference, to terminate their affairs, and conclude a lasting peace. The Swifs sent a deputation to acquaint him, that they were ready to cause the county of Ferrete to be restored to him, and to give the count de Romont full fatisfaction; that, besides, as so poor a country as theirs did not deserve that he should conquer it, they intreated him to leave them in quiet.

By a second embassy they offered to him to renounce all their alliances, even that with the king, which was so advantageous to them, and besides to surnish 6000 men against him. He resused all these offers, and entered their country, where, after taking some little places, he besieged Gransson, which surrendered at discretion, and where the duke caused hang 500 Germans who were in garrison in the

place.

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The Swiss were too late in sending succours, but nevertheless marched in order to hinder the enemy from proceeding farther. The duke, instead of waiting for them in his camp, which was perfectly well tortisted, was positive, against the opinion of all his officers, to march against them, and attack them in the entry of the mountains. He had first sent his guards to occupy the passages; but, by the terrible sire made by the Swiss, his guards were repulsed, and the army was thrown into such a panic, that it sled in very great disorder, though there were but seven men killed.

Charles's camp was taken and plundered, all the tents, the officers baggage, and his own, with his immense treasures, and precious stones of prodigious bulk, as well as inestimable value, were a prey to the victors. The unpolished Swiss, who did not know their value, sold them for trisses; so that in a very short time all Germany was full of the spoils

of the duke and his army.

That victory gave great reputation to the Swiss, who till this time had not been much regarded. Several cities and princes of Germany joined them. They retook Gransson, and caused hang all the Burgundians whom

they found in it.

Mean-time the king, who had marched to Lyons to observe the duke's motions, and the consequences of that war, soon received that account, and immediately perceived that there would be an alteration in the face of affairs.

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The duke sent him ambassadors, who spoke to him very humbly, and asked his pardon in their master's name for his having neglected the interview. The king put on a good face to them, and answered, that the duke had nothing to fear, for that he should keep the truce without any kind of infraction.

In fact, some towns of Germany having intreated him to declare against the duke, he was far from hearkening to such a proposal; not indeed to do a pleasure to the duke; on the contrary, as he knew that had he declared himself, it would have stopped the duke short, he allowed him to engage in enterprises in

which he knew he should perish.

Mean-time the duchess of Savoy sent to Comines, to endeavour to make her peace with the king her brother. The duke of Milan caused a large sum of money to be offered him, if he would promife to make neither peace nor truce with Charles. The king anfwered in a few words, that he had nothing to do with his money, and that he had more than he; and that as for war, or a truce, he should do in that as he should think best. Moreover, if he wanted they should be friends as before, he would receive him. The agreement between the two princes was immediately proclaimed on the terms which Louis had proposed.

As to King René, as soon as Louis had heard of the duke's defeat, he sent troops into Provence, where René was, and caused tell

him,

him, that he invited him to come to him; if not, that he should make him come by force. He obeyed, and was very kindly received. René made his seneschal his spokesman, who said it was true that the king his master had entered into a treaty with the duke of Burgundy for his county of Provence; that his most faithful servants, and himself among the rest, had advised him to do so; that what had obliged him to it, was Louis's bad treatment of him, in taking from him his castle of Bar, and that of Angers; that, besides, he never intended to execute that treaty, and that he had spread the report of it only because he was very glad that it should come to Louis's knowledge, that he might do him justice, and remember that he was his uncle.

The king took that discourse in very good part, and entertained magnificently, as usual, the king of Sicily and his retinue. It is incredible how much the duke of Burgundy was humbled with his misfortune; he was dejected and melancholy, unsupportable to his attendants, and to himself, and never after that time was his understanding so distinct, or so good as before. He was more enraged than ever against the Swiss, and, in order to be avenged of them, he sent for succours of men and money from his towns in the Low Countries.

They answered with one consent, that they were ready to defend him with their lives and fortunes, but that they were resolved not to

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affift him in continuing an unjust war. It is easy to imagine how much such an answer might irritate a prince of his humour, and how much he was vexed to perceive his power weakened, even among his own subjects. However, notwithstanding their refusal, he raised a strong army, almost entirely composed of foreigners, because he was diffident of his own subjects, and did not believe that they could have considence in him, after the treachery of which he had been guilty to the constable.

With that army he went and incamped before Morat. The duke of Lorraine, whom he had robbed of his dominions, joined the Swiss with some few troops. Charles's army was routed on the very first attack; but it did not happen as in the first battle, where the duke lost but seven men, because the Swiss had no cavalry; here, where they had 4000 horse, and very good men, they hotly pursued the runaways, and laid 8000 of them upon the spot. René II. duke of Lorraine immediately carried the victorious army into his own duchy, where, in passing, he took some places, and went and laid siege to Nancy.

Charles, plunged in grief, shut himself up for six weeks, not being able to bear the sight of mankind, and thinking that the very light of the sun upbraided him with his defeat; he perceived at that time that he was about to be abandoned by all his friends. The dif-

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fidence he had of the duchess of Savdy, obliged him to get her taken at her own house, and sent prisoner to a castle near Dijon.

Mean-time he gave orders for raising new troops, but very carelessly, and he appeared now to do nothing but from obstinacy. Instead of turning his heart to God in his affliction, he abandoned himself to vexation and despair; his passion became more than ever impetuous and terrible. None of his attendants durst acquaint him with necessary things, and hardly come near or speak to him. His sorrows weakened his health; he fell into frequent faintings, and they were obliged to give him extraordinary remedies to recall warmth and blood to his heart.

The duke of Lorraine in the mean-time was pressing Nancy, and Charles, sunk in his afflictions, lost the opportunity of succouring that place. Captain Cohin \*, who commanded the English there, a man of low birth, but of great virtue, being killed by a cannon-shot, his death damped the courage of his soldiers, who, not skilled in sieges, fell a-murmuring against the governor, and obliged him to come to a parley: had he had the courage to speak to them as he ought, he might have reduced them, and would not have capitulated as he did, very unseasonably.

Two days after the treaty the duke of Bur-

gundy

<sup>[\*</sup> I have some doubt that there is a mistake about this name, which to me appears uncommon, at least in this island.]

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gundy arrived with his army, and finding the place furrendered, he refolved to besiege it again. It had been better for him that he had not persisted in that unfortunate siege; he might easily have been able, by taking the little places about, to keep Nancy straitened, and as it were blocked up. By that means his troops would not have been fatigued, and he might have destroyed the place without any hazard. But as Philip de Comines faid on that occasion, "God prepares such extra-" ordinary defigns for princes, when he in-

" tends to change their fortune "."

Much about the same time, the duchess of Savoy, who was but negligently guarded, fent to demand of the king some men to set her at liberty. He would not be wanting to his fifter in fo preffing a necessity; she was brought out of her confinement, and came to wait upon Louis at Plessis-les-Tours, whither he had retired as usual, not thinking his prefence any longer necessary at Lyons, after the action at Morat. He went and met the duchefs, whom he accosted smiling, and called her a Burgundian; she answered, she was a very honest Frenchwoman, and expressed much gratitude to him. She was very kindly received, and they treated of their affairs to their mutual fatisfaction.

The historians remark, that she was a very fifter of the king, and was no less secret, nor

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Dieu prépare de tels vouloirs extraordinaires aux princes, quand il veut changer leur fortune.]

less artful than her brother. They were too well acquainted to be pleafed one with another, or to confide in each other. They embraced, and soon after separated, with high compliments, very well satisfied never

to meet again.

Mean-time, the duke of Lorraine was railing troops, in Swifferland and Germany, to fuccour Nandy. The king favoured those levies, both by his ambassadors, and his money. A great many French gentlemen inlisted in those troops, by his permission. René II. came and took up his quarters at St Nicolas, near Nancy, with that army, and the king had his in the duchy of Bar, to observe what was passing, and ready to act on the first occasion.

At the second siege of Nancy, Campobasche continued his practices, and encouraged the besieged. He caused tell the duke of Lorraine and the soldiers whom the king had in his army, that, on the very day of the battle, he should come over to their side with his men, and should leave some of them, both to begin the slight and spread terror through the whole army, and to follow the duke close, and kill him in the confusion,

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Whilst these things were contriving, the Burgundians took a gentleman of Provence, who secretly managed that affair, and made all the overtures. He was taken entering Nancy, and Charles ordered him to be hanged, according to the rigorous laws practised at that time

time in some countries, but not in France.

They are now univerfally abolished.

As he was carrying to execution, he said, he had an information to give to Charles, which he might buy with a duchy, since his life was concerned; but Campobasche, who had got near the duke, to hinder him from paying any regard to that relation, removed those who wanted to speak, and prevented them, saying, the duke ordered that man to be speedily dispatched; which was done, and

Charles knew not of the conspiracy.

Nancy was very much pressed, and begun to want provisions, which obliged the duke of Lorraine to offer battle; he left his quarters at St Nicolas with that intention, and marched straight to the duke of Burgundy. At that time, contrary to his custom, Charles took a little counsel; there was represented to him the bad condition of his troops that had been twice beat, and were but 4000 men, of which scarcely 1200 were in a condition to fight. What could he expect to do against so great an army, which was about to fall upon him, and against the king's army, which he saw in so good condition in the neighbourhood?

For these reasons he was advised to retire for a short time; because, said they, the Germans, after supplying the place with provisions, will not be long in retiring: besides, the small quantity of provisions that they would get into Nancy, would be soon consu-

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med in so great a town; and that then they might besiege it again, with certainty of success.

Notwithanding so good an advice, that prince was obstinately bent on the battle, in which he must die. On the day of the battle, which was fought in the middle of winter, the 5th of January 1477, Campobasche did not fail to execute his intention; but, as he was going over to the Germans, they drove him away, crying, that they would have no

traitors among them.

The duke's troops, terrified at the two battles they had loft, and at the defertion of Campobasche, soon betook themselves to slight. The infantry was defeated by the furious difcharge of the Swiss, and after that the cavalry fcarcely stood a moment. Campobasche took possession of a bridge, by which they might have escaped; so that there was a terrible flaughter of them. The duke was killed among the first, by a multitude of people who did not know him, as was then faid; but there is a great probability, that it was by Campobasche's foldiers, as that traitor had projected. However that be, he was found among the dead, wounded in many places, and, among others, with a stroke of a halbert, which cleft his head to pieces.

That duke had some good qualities, and many more bad. His understanding was lively and penetrating, and his apprehension wonderfully quick. He loved to give; but he

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gave to every one in a small proportion, to make his bounties more lafting and extenfive. He was active, laborious, ambitious, and daring above all measure, and defirous of being spoken of after his death, as men speak of those famous conquerors, so renowned in history; proud, incapable of following an advice, or to depart from his first resolutions, however rash they were. He never showed any conversion to God, neither in prosperity nor in adversity, and thought his grandeur owing to himself, and his own superior understanding. He came to his end at last unfortunately, in the strength of his age, by his own obstinacy, and by an infamous piece of treachery, justly punished for that of which he had been guilty to the constable.

Much about the fame time, the duke of Milan, speaking to an ambassador in a church, was affaffinated by three gentlemen. He had carried off the wives of the two first, and had done to the other some piece of injustice, with

regard to an abbacy.

Mean-time, Louis was waiting with great impatience at Plessis les-Tours, for news from Nancy. He had established through all his kingdom post-offices, which are so advantageous both to the public and to private perfons, and which carry on the correspondence between all the parts of the state. By that means he was foon acquainted of all that was paffing.

passing, and he made considerable presents to fuch as brought him news of importance.

The count du Lude, after taking the packets from the post-boys, came in all haste so Plessis, and awakened the king, though fearcely day-light. He told him of the defeat and flight of the duke of Burgundy, for there were as yet no accounts of his death. That piece of news pleafed the king much; but he was afraid, that, if he fell into the hands of the Germans, as he had a great deal of money, he might make an accommodation with them, and gain them by his money. This suggested to the king to make himself master of the lands holden of the crown; which he might very easily do, because the duke had loft the flower of his troops in his three battles. He intended to write to the duke, that he had seized his lands, as sove. reign lord, to keep them for him, and hinder the Germans from possessing so considerable a part of the kingdom.

As foon as the king had got up, the lords came in a croud after their usual manner to pay their court to him. He entertained them with what had passed, and showed great joy at it. Most of them made no answer, and appeared surprised: they were apprehensive, that the king, being rid of his enemies, should turn his thoughts to the humbling of them. Several of them had been in the war of the public weal, or of the duke of Guienne's party, and they knew well that Louis was

not

not of an humour to forget those secret practices. He caused to dine with him, according to his custom, several great lords, with his chancellor, and those of his council.

Comines remarked in that entertainment. that most of the guests, troubled with their own affairs, ate very little, and were sparing of their talk before a prince fo suspicious. Louis afterward fent Comines to the frontiers of Picardy, to negotiate with the towns belonging to the house of Burgundy, and oblige them to furrender to him. He had an order, when fetting out, to open all the pac-

kets addressed to the king.

In the first which he opened, he was informed of the duke of Burgundy's death. On his drawing near Abbeville, he found that place inclinable to fubmit. He went then to Arras, which he invited to furrender. inhabitants answered very respectfully, that they belonged to the Duchess Mary, their duke's daughter, and that they were not in the case of Abbeville, and the other places on the Somme, or of the county of Ponthieu, which were to return to the king, by the treaty of Arras, in failure of heirs-male; whereas Flanders and Artois might be held by females: witness Margaret, daughter and heiress of Louis, count of Flanders, who had brought in portion those countries to Philip the Bold, and to the house of Burgundy.

Comines gave an account of that answer to John de Rohan, admiral of France, who

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commanded for the king in those quarters. Louis, naturally active and vigilant, had no sooner heard of the duke's death, than he resolved to go in person to the frontiers, thinking that his own presence might forward matters. In fact, Ham, Bohin, St Quentin, and Péronne, surrendered immediately. He had taken a resolution to reduce under his government all the dominions of the house of Burgundy, and deprive the heires of them. For that purpose, he intended to take to himself Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, holding of the crown, and to divide among the princes of Germany the lands which held of the empire.

The design was well laid; but it was not founded in justice; for, excepting the places on the Somme, the county of Ponthieu, and the duchy of Burgundy, which being given to Philip the Bold, as a portion of a son of the royal family of France, was to return to the crown, in failure of heirs-male, the rest lawfully belonged to the duke of Burgundy's daughter; so the king had done better to bring about that affair by a marriage; which he might have done without any difficulty.

He had often said in the duke's lifetime, that, if that prince happened to die, he would marry the dauphin to his daughter; but he changed his note immediately after the duke's death, either because he had other designs, or because he saw the thing impossible, the dauphin being but nine years of age, and the princess

princess more than twenty; and indeed the princess's maid of honour said, that she had need of a man, and not of a child; a faving that was ill interpreted, though her intention was to fay no more than that the tottering state had need of a grown man to re-establish it.

The king might have married her with the Count d'Angouleme, father of Francis I. king of France; for the princess ardently defired either the dauphin or some prince of France, moved either by the splendour of that august house, or by some other particular reason. But the king never inclined to that marriage, because he dreaded the same inconvenience which had already happened to France, from the excessive power of the house of Burgundy; and besides, that vindictive prince, from the hatred that he bore to that family, which had done so much mischief to him and to the state, had no less design than to ruin it utterly.

He began his practices on the inhabitants of Ghent, whose temper he knew. They were a people always inclinable to rebel, who loved to humble their princes, and had a particular spite against the family of Burgundy, under whom they had loft their privileges.

He destined for that embassy Olivier le Dain, his barber, a man very little qualified, and unworthy of fo great an employment; but the king was fond of him. Olivier acted the great lord, and took on himself the title

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title of count of Meulan, because he was captain of that town. His orders were, to propose to the princess to put herself into his hands during the troubles, promising to restore to the inhabitants of Ghent all their

privileges.

At the audience which he had of the princess, in presence of her council, his letters of credence were demanded of him; he refused to show them, and said that his orders were to speak only to the princess alone. She and her council thought that behaviour very singular. The people, who knew his low birth and mean capacity, laughed at him; and their contempt rising into indignation, he was forced to betake himself to slight.

If his fuccess was so bad, the blame was not to be attributed to him, but to the perfon who had intrusted him with an employment above his abilities, and the king was deceived by thinking the matter too easy.

Nevertheless Olivier, after retiring, succeeded pretty well at Tournay, which he brought over to the king's interest. This prince, in the mean time, was besieging Arras, and received an embassy from the princess to treat of a peace. The ambassadors were the Chancellor Hugonet and the Lord d'Imbercourt, who having always been in power under the duke, were desirous of preserving themselves in it. They delivered to the king a letter from the duchess, in which she wrote him, that he might put full considence in the persons

fons she sent him; that they were her most faithful fervants, in whom she consided for her principal affairs; and that whatever they

should agree, should be executed.

The king would not give them an audience till he had spoke to them in private, in order to endeavour to bring them into his designs. They answered with great submission, but did not engage themselves. They always propofed to him the marriage of the dauphin, to which he would never give ear. At last, to give him some satisfaction in the weak state in which they were fensible their mistress's affairs were, they confented to furrender to him the citadel of Arras, by which he might easily make himself master of the town.

The lord des Cordes, who was governor of the citadel, advised the king secretly to demand it; and after receiving his discharge from the ambaffadors, furrendered it to him. He then went over entirely to the king, who made him governor of Picardy, as he had been under the duke of Burgundy. He served in the taking of Hédin, of which he had been governor. There were even many of his men

still there.

Cambray opened its gates to Louis; Ardres, Queinoy, Bouchain, and Boulogne furrendered a few days after. The king came then and belieged the town of Arras, which did not refift long, both on account of the town's being roughly battered, and on account of the intelligence which des Cordes had kept in it.

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During the siege of Arras, there came to the king envoys from the three estates of the country, of which the inhabitants of Ghent had the disposal; they were masters of every thing, because they had the princess in their power. In proposing conditions of peace, they said, in order to get credit, that their princess would do nothing without the counsel and advice of the three estates of her country.

The king laid hold on that expression, and told them, he was certain the duches would be conducted by other persons, so that they would find themselves disclaimed in what they should advance. Thereupon, being very glad to sow division among his enemies, he caused show them the letter which Mary had just wrote to him; it was given them to assist them to raise an insurrection, and they were not forry to have so fine an opportunity of so

doing.

On their return to Ghent, they upbraided the princes in full council, and in presence of the chancellor and of Imbercourt, that far from resting on the advice of her three estates, as she had promised, she had wrote the contrary to the king. She was surprised at first; but not being able to persuade herself that the king had given away her letter, she maintained that she had never wrote any such thing. They showed her her original letter; and these insolent subjects overwhelmed their princess with consusion.

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The inhabitants of Ghent seized the chancellor and Imbercourt, and had them tried. They were condemned to die; and though they appealed to the king, fovereign lord of the earldom of Flanders, and to his parliament, these feditious people dragged them to execution.

The duchess, in a fit of distraction, run haflily to the public market-place, where there was a scaffold raised, and there, with her hair dishevelled, and melting into tears, as she perceived among her people no respect for her authority, she begged, with humble intreaties, a pardon for her two faithful fervants.

Many were moved with the base contempt shown for their duchess, and declared for her. The two parties had for some time their pikes presented against each other, and ready to fight; but at last the weaker party was obliged to yield to the stronger, and the rebels remaining mafters, these two unhappy persons

were facrificed to their fury.

In France had also been executed James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours. That lord, after promifing to the king not to enter into the league of the public weal, had broke his promise, and the king had always retained a defire to be avenged of him. He however granted the duke a pardon for that fault, at the time that he granted the same favour to other lords; but his busy pragmatical temper having engaged in various plots, he was so audacious as to project the giving up the king

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The king, resolved to punish him for it, gave orders to Peter de Bourbon Beaujeu to go and besiege him in his castle of Carlat in Auvergne, whither he had retired. He surrendered on condition of having his life saved, which was promised him; but the king did not trouble himself about keeping the promise made by Beaujeu; he put the duke into the hands of the parliament, who condemned him to have his head cut off, which was executed the 4th of August 1477. The king ordered that lord's two sons, who were but infants, to be placed under the scassfold, that they might be stained with their father's blood.

Mean-time the king's armies, commanded by the lord of Craon, made great progress in the duchy and county of Burgundy. Louis sent thither the prince of Orange, a native subject of the house of Burgundy, but who had abandoned Duke Charles on some discontent. He thought that prince, who had large estates in these countries, would be serviceable to him in reducing them; but all his considence was in the conduct of Craon, who made use of the prince of Orange to reduce Dijon, and the whole duchy, with the county of Auxerre. He took likewise several places in Franche-Comté, and others were much shaken.

In England the conquests made by Louis in the Low Countries were regarded with a jealous

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jealous eye; they favoured the duchess; and Edward's subjects represented to him, that he ought not to fuffer the king of France to become so powerful on the coast, and that he had already taken Ardres, Boulogne, and other considerable places on the sea-side.

Louis had on his side all the court of England, and a great part of the council, by means of the confiderable pensions which he continued to give there. He made use of all those methods in order to retain Edward, who, on his fide, loved his pleasures, and was inactive; for, notwithstanding the nine battles which he had gained, he had rendered him-

self despicable.

That prince was fit to succeed in the civil wars of England, which were decided in a short time; but he knew he had not constancy enough to support the affairs of France, which experience had made him think tedious and painful. Moreover, the 50,000 crowns which he received every year from the king touched his heart; and, finally, he and his wife were afraid to fall out with France, from the ardent defired they had to complete a marriage between the dauphin and their daughter Elifabeth, whom they already called Madame la Dauphine, the Dauphiness.

Louis had no intention of concluding that marriage, and meant nothing but to amuse the king of England, whose temper he knew. When he received ambassadors from him, he never gave them any politive answer, but, after

VOL. II.

fome general words, he promised to send some person to tell his resolution. He had the art however of gaining by great gifts, and every kind of agreeable reception, the ministers which Edward sent him, so that they related wonders to their master concerning the good dispositions of the court of France.

Louis fent afterward people to make proposals, which had in appearance great advantages, but at bottom many difficulties. He often changed ministers, that if the first had made any overtures, the others might not follow them, and that they might be obliged often to ask new instructions; thus he gained

time, and the feafon was going on.

If Mary had inclined to marry the count de Riviere\*, brother of the queen of England, she might have had great succours from that country; but she would not look upon so small a count, and despised so unsuitable an alliance. The Emperor Frederic III. caused her to be solemnly demanded for his son Ma-

ximilian, duke of Austria.

The thing had been already proposed, and as good as concluded in Charles's lifetime, as we have remarked. It was at last determined, and Maximilian came to Ghent to finish the marriage. He was but ill supplied in money, and had but a small retinue, from the avarice of his father Frederic. The inhabitants of Ghent, who were accustomed to the house of Burgundy, which was so rich and magnisi-

Perhaps earl of Rivers.]

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cent, despised him and his Germans, who seemed to them an unpolished people.

That marriage did not hinder Louis's progress, and he finished the conquest of Argois; but he abandoned almost at the same time, to the great surprise of every body, Quesnoy, Bouchain, and the other places in Hainault. and delivered into the hand of a third party Cambray, which was an Imperial city.

Some historians relate, that those towns surrendered of themselves; but Comines, from better authority, says, the king quitted them voluntarily, from sidelity to the treaties, by which the kings of France had bound themselves not to have any lands in the empire.

Much about the same time George duke of Clarence, brother of the king of England, undertook, without his knowledge, to go and assist Flanders, on account of the duchess-dowager their sister, and to carry troops to her. For that reason, according to our historians, or for some other more secret cause, he got him condemned to an inhuman death, as a traitor to the state.

He mitigated the punishment on the intreaty of their common mother, and gave him the choice of his death. That unhappy man chose to die in a pipe of Malmsey; and Edward, as barbarous as his brother was brutal, granted him that death, which was suitable to the life he had led.

On the side of Franche-Comté Louis had found a little resistance, He had promised to restore

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restore to the prince of Orange some places which had belonged to his family, and which Duke Charles had adjudged to his uncles. Craon, who was very much attached to his interest, after taking those places, refused to restore them to that prince, notwithstanding all the orders so to do which he had from the king, who, thinking him very necessary for his service, would not discontent him.

The prince was provoked, left the king, and caused several towns to rebel. He had not much affistance from Maximilian, who was left even by his attendants, and by Sigismund duke of Austria his uncle, whom the king had brought over to his interest, by gaining some of his servants, by whom he suf-

tered himself to be governed.

Mean time the prince of Orange, having raised at his own expenses in the neighbourhood some German and Swiss troops, was troublesome to the army of France, and supported matters a little. At that time Craon besieged Dole, which he despised, because it was very ill provided; but he was beat in a sally, and forced to raise the siege, after losing some of his men, and a great part of his artillery. The king, who was already provoked by the extortions of which he was guilty in the province, made use of that opportunity to deprive him of the government, which he gave to Charles d'Amboise, lord of Chaumont.

He made a new alliance with the Swiss, which

which is still in force at this day, and spared nothing to deprive the prince of Orange of all the affistance he had. As that prince soon came to be in want of money, his Germans and Swifs chose rather to inlift with the king, who gave it liberally. An agog od atthicks

The new governor befieged Dole, which he carried by storm, and then plundered and razed it. Auxone, a very strong town, was furrendered by means of intelligence with the besieged. Louis gave good terms to such as came over to him; fo Beaune, Semur, Verdun, and the other places which had revolted, and at last all Burgundy, partly by force, partly by cunning, were reduced under his The valour and wisdom of the obedience. governor finished that conquest, and the king was very careful to recompense him for his fervices, both mas vixl bacongad ball reduces.

About the same time Mahomet II. emperor of the Turks, who had taken Constantinople, was bravely repulsed from before Rhodes, by the grand mafter d'Aubusson, one of the most famous men of his time. The Turkish army landed at Otranto, which it plundered, and the archbishop was sawn asunder.

There was an affembly at Orleans, in which presided Peter de Beaujeu, the king's fon-in-law. It was held in order to re-establish the pragmatic sanction, and hinder the money from being carried to Rome. In it were likewise renewed the decrees of the council of Constance, and particularly that which which determines that general councils derive their power from God alone. But that affembly, which was continued at Lyons the year following, had no consequences, the king having caused it to be held solely to intimidate the pope, who had taken the part of the Pazzis against the Medicis of Florence,

whom France supported.

Comines was in Burgundy during those conquests. In his absence bad offices were done him with the king, and that suspicious prince removed for a time that faithful servant, the depositary of his secrets, and whom he caused to write under himself the most private correspondences, because it was reported of him, that he had spared in his quartering some of the burghers of Dijon. He ordered him to Florence on account of the differences that had happened between the family of the Medicis, and that of the Pazzis.

Cosmo de Medicis had had the absolute government of the republic of Florence. Laurence his son, a man of splendour and great understanding, had succeeded in his power. The Pazzis jealous of so great an influence, which became as it were hereditary in that family, had recourse to the support of Pope Sixtus IV. and of Ferdinand king of Naples. They killed Julian de Medicis, Laurence's brother, in the principal church of Florence, in time of high mass, and Lau-

rence himself was wounded.

The Pazzis, who thought themselves ma-

sters of every thing, carried up their men to the palace, to affassinate the governors of the town assembled there, and in the mean time they were crying in the middle of the market-place, Liberty, and, Long live the people \*. But they got no followers, and the magistrates resuming their authority caused hang up at the windows of the palace, Francisco and James de Pazzi.

A minister of the pope's, a favourer of the rebels, was likewise executed, with sifteen or sixteen of the most considerable persons of the city who were in the conspiracy, among whom was comprehended Francis Salinat, archbishop of Pisa. The pope excommunicated the Florentines, and marched his own army and that of the king of Naples

against them.

Comines was sent to support the Florentines, which he performed more by his address, than by his forces which were not numerous. At the end of the year he was recalled. In passing through Milan, he received in the king's name the homage of Duke Galeas for the duchy of Genoa, and appeared again at court as well received by his master as before, because he had obeyed punctually and without murmuring.

There had come a legate from the pope to negotiate a peace between Louis and Maximilian, and to unite them against the Turk. He was not able to succeed in that design,

<sup>[</sup> Liberté, & vive le peuple.] Il bas addibado

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and only a truce for a year had been made by his mediation: before it was expired, Maximilian entered France with a strong ar-

my, and besieged Therouenne.

The lord of Cordes, or Querdres, for it is the same name, governor of Picardy, marched to fuccour it. The duke advanced to fight him, and the two armies met at Guinegate. At the first the French cavalry broke that of Maximilian; but that young prince, who was scarcely twenty years of age, put himself at the head of his infantry which was already in confusion, and made them fight vigorously. Two hundred gentlemen on foot fustained the battle, and the Flemings pushed our people so strongly, that they remained masters of the field of battle.

Nevertheles Maximilian lost more men there than we, and was not able to finish his siege; but Louis, who knew of what weight fame was in matters of war, was affected in the highest degree at that affair. He had a natural repugnance to rifk any thing, and therefore spared no cost or pains to gain the governors of the enemy's places, and to become mafter of them by means of intelligence with the belieged.

When he was obliged to attack them by ftorm, he made so strong efforts, that he carried them in a fhort time; and then he fortified them fo well, that they became impregnable. His artillery was always in good condition and fit for service; and as for his armies. ons

armies, we have already remarked, that he made them so numerous that hardly could they be attacked. He knew how hazardous battles were, and discouraged by this last accident, he gave an order that thenceforward no battle should be fought without his express command; he resolved even to make a peace,

but upon advantageous conditions.

What made him more inclinable for peace, was his defire to have the kingdom regulated in its police, and a remedy got for the tediousness of law-suits. That prince intended to regulate his court of parliament, not by diminishing the number or power of its officers, but " by laying restraints upon them," fays Comines, " in certain things which dif-" pleased him \*." It gave him pain likewise to see that prodigious diversity of customs which occasioned so great a confusion in decrees and in business. He intended to reduce all the customary law to one, and likewise to order the weights and measures to be uniform through the whole kingdom, which would have been very advantageous for commerce.

In fine, Louis began to be moved with the extreme poverty of his people, whom he had oppressed more than all the kings his predecessors, without ever giving ear to the remonstrances made to him on that head, on account of the endless expenses in which he was engaged by the intelligences which he had

<sup>[\*</sup> En les bridant, sur certaines choses qui lui déplai-

every where, the numerous armies which he maintained, and his manner of taking places, rather by money than by force. All these reafons inclined him to make a peace, and he was endeavouring fo to do during the continuance of the truce subsisting between the two parties. It allows have the

In the two first years of her marriage, Mary of Burgundy had had a fon named Philip, and a daughter named Margaret, with whom Louis had thoughts of marrying the Dauphin. By that means he intended to retain the counties of Burgundy, of Auxerre, and of Macon, and to restore the county of Artois, referving Arras in the state in which

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he had put it. I had not not

Amidst these great designs he was seized with a distemper which threatened him with death. Having gone to dine in the neighbourhood of Plessis-les-Tours, a dimness of fight feized him at rising from table; he all of a fudden loft his speech and his senses, without any visible cause of such a qualm. When he was a little recovered, he crawled to the window to get air, but his attendants dragged him from it forcibly by order of the physician. A little after perceiving his strength somewhat recovered, he would return home on horseback, not to surprise the people.

Scarce could he fpeak, and nobody could understand him except Comines; so that in making his confession he stood in need of that interpreter, without whom his confession could could not have been understood. He inquired very carefully about those who had taken him away from the window, and dismissed them all, both the great officers and the small. He had always blamed those who had forced the king his father to eat, at the time he was afraid of being poisoned, and he affected to express on that subject more dis-

pleasure than he really had.

He was glad to have it known that he would not be prescribed to in any thing, and he was afraid, that, under pretext of his weakness of understanding, the government should be taken from him. He caused to be read to him all the dispatches that had been written when his disease was at its height, and though he had but ill recovered his senses, he made a show of understanding them; he took them into his hand, as if to read them bimself, and made a signal what he wanted to have done; but there were not many orders given; for, as Comines said, "he was a master with "whom one must mind his hits, and serve him to his liking \*."

At the end of of fifteen days, he recovered his health, but was very weak, and always in danger of a relapse, and the physicians did not think that he could live long. After being a year extremely weak, he thought himself strong enough to attempt a journey to St Claude in Franche Comté, whither some of

<sup>[\*</sup> C'étoit un maître avec qui il falloit charrier droit, & le servir à son gout.

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his attendants in the height of his disease had vowed he should make a pilgrimage. He was so altered and so wasted, that he could not be known; and Comines, who, by his own order, went to him at Beaujeu, as he was returning, was surprised that he had undertaken so long a journey; but his courage supported him in his distress.

He heard at Beaujeu of the death of Mary of Burgundy, in the fifth year of her married state, and in her fourth pregnancy. Whilst that princess was at the chace, her horse threw her. She concealed her pain as much as she was able; but the pain prevailed, and in a few days after she died.

The king was very glad at that news; for when any one died, he was overjoyed, and instead of thinking that he himself was about to die, he revolved in his mind only how he might make his advantage of the death of o-

thers.

Maximilian's interest quite sunk in the Low Countries, after the death of Mary. Those people had still a little respect for her, as for their natural princess. Immediately after her death, the inhabitants of Ghent seized the young princess, and prescribed laws more than ever; which made the king believe, that he could make what agreement he pleased by means of my lords of Ghent, for he always called them so, because he had stood in need of them.

In returning to Pless, he went to the

castle of Amboise to visit his son, whom he had not feen for feveral years. He gave him many wife advices for the management of his person and kingdom; but what he most insisted on, was the fault he himself had committed in entering upon the management of his own affairs with a spirit of revenge, and his having removed all the servants of the king his father. He showed him that that had brought upon him the league of the public weal, and all the other misfortunes that had happened to him; and faid, that he forbade him, with all the authority of a father and a king, to change the officers which he should find established.

The king ordered the prince to retire, and advise with his attendants what he was to say, and a little after the young prince promised to obey his father's injunctions. After binding himself to do so by an oath, the king caused draw up his own orders and his son's promises, into a declaration, which he fent to the parliament of Paris, and to the other courts of the kingdom. Then he returned to Plessis, where he shut himself up in a strange manner.

The iron grates are yet to be seen which he caused to be fixed on all sides to the walls. He caused the castle to be guarded, as if he had been in the middle of his enemies, and nobody durst enter without his express orders, excepting his fon in-law and his daughter, and even they approached him not without trembling. X

VOL. II.

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Moreover, he had about him, besides his necessary domestics, only four or five persons of low birthand bad same; so those cruelsuspicions, by which he tormented every body, turned into a punishment upon himself. The strange things which he invented and executed every day in order to make himself seared, made some think him deprived of his senses; but such as thought so, were not sufficiently acquainted with the distrustful and imperious temper of that prince, who knew, that he was hated by the great, and little beloved by the small, though at that time he was often thinking how to ease the poor people, but it was too late.

In the preceding year, 1481, Charles of Anjou, count du Maine, died without issue, after making a will, by which he left Louis, Charles the dauphin, and their successors, kings of France, heirs of his county of Provence, of his rights to the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and of all the other countries belonging to him. He had those territories by the will of René, king of Sicily, his uncle, who had preferred him to his own daughters. Louis had procured that settlement in the time of King René, and, after Charles's death, he entered into possession of Provence.

Mean-time the king's ill-humour increased with his disease, and he every day became more suspicious. He often changed his valets and other officers, saying, in the terms

Medicente

of a vulgar proverb in bad Latin, that nature

took pleafure in changes.

Every day fomething new was heard of him; he broke or replaced the gentlemen of the army, took away or diminished the penfion of one person or another, and told Comines, that his time passed in doing and undoing. He loved to make people talk of him, both within the kingdom and without, for fear he should be thought dead; and that he might appear more alive and more active than ever, he had ambassadors under various pretexts in all courts, where he caused proposals to be made, and gave large prefents.

In all the fairs, he caused buy for him whatever was rarest: dogs were bought for him for hunting, high priced horses, and jewels in diftant countries, where he wanted to be thought in good health, and he paid for every thing more than its value, making all Europe resound with the report of his cusch he prefided

riofity.

He fent every where in fearch of lions and other fingular beafts, which he fcarcely looked at when they were brought; it was fufficient to him to have made people speak of him; he thought in that manner to amaze the world, and stifle the reports which were spread of his distemper. But what was strange and insupportable in his conduct, was, that his suspicions carried him to unheard-of cruelties. He is accused of having put to death X 2 many many people, without fo much as a reason asfigned. In fine, the more weak and fuspicious he was, the more he wanted to render himself feared, and never in fact had he been more dreaded both by his own subjects

and by his neighbours.

But all his precautions did not cure the disquietude with which he was tormented; he dreaded even his own children, He did not fee his own fon, and did not bring him to court. He kept him in a mean way, strictly guarded, in the castle of Amboise, where nobody fpoke to him, without express orders. Though he was but still a child, he was apprehensive that he might be instigated to rebel, or that some plot might be hatched under his name. He remembered in what manner he had himself rebelled against King Charles his father, and took distant measures, that his fon might not do the same to him.

The diffidence he had of Peter de Beaujeu, his fon in-law, obliged him to break a council in which he presided by his own order, for fear that prince should get more authority than he wished. Thus all private affairs were at a stand, because they durst speak to the king only of those which concerned the

great interests of the kingdom.

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Every body complained, that he had no instructions, and some had projected, under that pretext, to enter Plessis, without the king's orders, to get affairs expedited; but they durst not execute that intention, and the

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king, being informed of every thing, was

fully prepared.

A prince so absolute, before whom the greatest lords trembled, suffered himself to be abused by his physician. He gave him immense sums, without reckoning the other favours with which he loaded himself and his relations, as if, being accustomed to carry every thing by strength of money, he had intended also to buy health at any rate whatever; but, notwithstanding his excessive liberalities. he was forced to fuffer from his infolent physician, words not only ill bred, but affronting.

The poor prince often complained of this, but durst not change him, because he had told him with incredible audaciousness, that he certainly expected to be dismissed like the rest; but, added he, with an oath, You live not eight days after. That faying made the king tremble; and that prince, who found in every one else so blind a subjection, was reduced to flatter that man, whom he looked upon as mafter

of his life and death.

He wanted absolutely that God should work miracles for him; and for that purpose he sent for a vast number of relies from all quarters, even the holy vial, out of which the kings are anointed; not thinking that God, who calls us to life eternal, does not love such as have fo much attachment to the life which is peconvent of the order of the Minims, coldahir

He heard that there was in Calabria a holy X 3 man,

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man, who, from the age of twelve years till that of forty-three, had passed his life under a rock in very great aufterity, without eating either flesh, or fish, or milk, and employing his whole time in meditation and prayer. He was called Francis d'Alesso, and he has been fince canonized under the name of St Francis de Paulo. He was not a man of learning, but in recompense he was full of heavenly wisdom, and seemed in every thing to be infpired by God. This procured him the respect of the greatest princes, and he spoke to them with great simplicity and prudence, and appeared no more perplexed in their company than if he had been educated at a court.

The reputation of his fanctity, which was forced over all the earth, induced the king to invite him to come and make him a vifit, in hopes of recovering his health by this faint's prayers. He in fact came to France, after obtaining permission from the pope, and from his own fovereign. When he came to Plessisles-Tours, the king prostrated himself, and begged him to restore him to his health. That holy man strongly rejected such a proposal, telling him, that it belonged to God to restore him to it; that he should turn to him with his whole heart, and think of his soul's health rather than that of his body.

The king caused to be built in his park a convent of the order of the Minims, of which that holy man was institutor. He ordered

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himself to be often carried to that monastery, to converse with the man of God, who did not for that reason interrupt his usual exercises, but, after performing them, he came and difcoursed with the king, exhorting him to think of his conscience, and to despise this mortal life, with which he perceived him fo strangely

Nevertheless, the prevailing temper of the king showed itself. Among all those weaknesses, he always preserved the same presence of mind, and the same dexterity in managing business. He proposed at that time to Maximilian to conclude the marriage with his daughter. Much about the same time Aire was furrendered to des Cordes for a fum of money by the commanding officer. The furrender of a place so strong, and of such importance, which was the entry into Artois, spread confusion and terror over all the coun-

Every body there wished for the marriage which the king had proposed, as the sole mean of making a peace. A meeting was held at Aloft, in which were present the duke of Austria, and the representatives of the states of Flanders and Brabant. The duke was without a council as well as without interest, and was attended only by young people like himfelf, who did not understand business; so the inhabitants of Gheat made themselves masters of the affembly. The or stewis mill boundario

After taking from Prince Philip those whom his

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his father had fet about him, they declared to him that the people were weary of the war, and that he must secure a peace by this martiage. So the affair was resolved upon, and it was settled, that the counties of Burgundy, Artois, Auxerrois, Maconnois, and Charolois, should be given in portion to the princess.

Louis had never expected fo much; but the inhabitants of Ghent wanted to have all those countries yielded to him, and they would willingly have added the counties of Namur and Hainault, so desirous were they of dimi-

nishing the authority of their prince.

After the conclusion of the peace, ambassadors came to Plessis to get Louis to swear to it. He made much difficulty to show himself in the state in which he was, being sensible of his very great weakness, which he was afraid to show, but at last he determined upon it; and after swearing to the peace, the princess was delivered at Hesdin into the hands of des Cordes, according to the treaty.

The marriage was celebrated with great follemnity, though the dauphin was but twelve years of age, and the princess but three. When that news was carried to England, Edward was sensibly affected with it. He was quite satisfied in his own mind that Louis had long despised him; but the difficulty of undertaking a great war, and fifty thousand crowns, the loss of which he was unwilling to hazard, occasioned him always to flatter himself with

the expectation of his daughter's marriage with

the dauphin.

When he perceived the match quite disappointed, shame, and the contempt in which he was held both abroad and at home, threw him into fuch a deep melancholy that he died of it some time after. That was not the only misfortune of his family; he left two fons minors, under the guardianship of their uncle Richard duke of Glocester. That wicked uncle killed his two nephews, and made him-

felf master of the kingdom.

Louis said nothing at all on Edward's death, and neither expressed grief nor joy at that event. He was always afraid of disobliging, by some indiscreet expression, a haughty people, who wanted to be gently used. As for Richard, immediately after he had got himself crowned, he wrote to France as being king of England; but Louis would not receive his letters, nor his embaffy, nor have any communication with fo wicked a man. Richard did not long enjoy the kingdom that he had usurped, and he perished by the hands of an enemy, whose extreme weakness would never have given him any fuspicion, as we shall obferve in its place.

Louis, after concluding the marriage of which he was so desirous, had raised his power to the greatest height. He saw the Flemings under his government, and the house of Burgundy, which had given him so much uneasiness, weak and impotent; the duke of Brit-

tany, whom he hated, out of a condition of attempting any thing, and held in awe by the great army that he kept on his frontiers; Spain in peace with him, and in dread of his arms, both on the fide of Rouffillon which had been given him in pledge, and on the fide of Portugal and Navarre, which were in his interest; England weakened and in commotion at home; Scotland absolutely on his side; in Germany many allies; the Swifs as fubmiffive as his own fubjects; in fine, his authority fo firmly established in his own kingdom, and so respected abroad, that he needed only declare his pleasure to be obeyed.

It was amidst all this glory that he was declining daily, and felt a fear of death more insupportable than death itself. He fell into a fainting-fit, in which he loft his speech. When he had recovered a little, he thought his death was approaching, and fent for the dauphin, whom he had not feen fince his return from St Claude, that is to fay, for about three years. He called for Peter de Bourbon his fon-in law, and ordered him to go and fetch the king, (for so he called the dauphin), declaring, that he had by will named Anne his wife to be his governess during his child-

hood.

When that young prince was come, Louis repeated what he had faid to him at Amboise, concerning the evils that happened to himself by changing all the officers of the king his father, and forbid him again to make any fuch fuch alterations, which would be ruinous to him. He laid before him the state of the kingdom, and ordered him to relieve the people, who were exhausted by so many exactions. He recommended to him also to live in peace at least for five or six years; because the kingdom drained of its wealth by so many wars, needed that repose, and that it was dangerous to undertake any thing till he

should come to more mature age.

He declared, that he had concerted with des Cordes an enterprise against Calais, but he forbade it to be executed, because the English must not be provoked in the beginning of a new reign, especially under so young a king. After he had dismissed the Dauphin, he ordered the chancellor to wait upon him with his council, and to bring him the seals. All such as came to speak to him about business he referred to his son, whom he continued to call the king, exhorting them to serve him faithfully, and causing very judicious things to be told to the prince by all such as he sent to him.

Nevertheless Louis hoped always to recover, and never ceased representing to the holy hermit of Calabria, that he might if he pleased prolong his life. At last, to oblige him to think of nothing but his conscience, it was resolved to tell him that his death was nigh and inevitable.

He had always been apprehensive of such a sentence, and had frequently ordered, that when

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when he should be in that state, he should be told only to speak little, and to think of his confession; but never to pronounce to him that fatal word death.

He however patiently heard those words, but he could not hinder himself from saying that he hoped God would restore him to his health, and that he was better than was thought. He nevertheless immediately after demanded the sacraments, and made suitable prayers at each sacrament he received. He spoke always sensibly to the very last. He ordered his own burial, which he chose should be at Notre-dame de Cleri, and named all those who were to assist at his funeral, prescribing what each was to do.

He waited in that condition for the hour of his death, and faid always that he hoped the bleffed Virgin, whom he had particularly honoured during his life, would obtain for him the favour of dying on the day which was dedicated to her. It so happened that he died on Saturday the 30th of August 1483, the

very day that he had defired.

He had always faid that he did not expect to pass sixty years of age, and that for a long time no king of France had lived beyond those years. He died in fact in his sixty-first year, and was interred in the place he had ordered. It is certain he had an understanding very extensive, provident, active, penetrating, superior in affairs, and very skilful in unraveling them, how embarrassed soever they were, dexterous

Vol. II.

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dexterous at discovering and managing the humours and interests of mankind. He had shown much valour at the battle of Montlheri; and if he was afraid of battles, it was not from a defect of courage, but from his knowledge of the hazards of war, to which he want-

ed not to expose his kingdom.

This prince was naturally liberal; but it had only been defirable, that, in the gifts which he bestowed, he had been more regardful of the necessity of his distressed people. He was wonderfully skilled in securing the obedience of his subjects, and was more inclinable to push his authority too far, than to fuffer it to be loft. He was not without letters, and had more erudition than kings usually have. He augmented the royal library, which the kings his fuccessors, and especially Louis the Great, have so enriched, that the world has feen nothing more curious or more elegant.

This prince favoured men of letters, whom he was at pains to bring from foreign countries; and he generously entertained those who had escaped out of Greece after the taking of Constantinople. He was careful to provide for public education, and improved the university of Paris. He greatly enlarged the kingdom by the acquisition of Provence, and the reunion of Burgundy and Anjou, and almost all Picardy. So that it was become great and illustrious: but to have turned religion into superstition; to

have so strangely abandoned himself to suspicion and diffidence; to have been so rigorous in inslicting punishments, and to have delighted in blood, are qualities of a mean soul, and unworthy of the character of a king.

## BOOK XIII.

## CHARLES VIII.

Mmediately after the death of Louis, the meeting of the states general of the kingdom was held at Tours, to fettle the government of the state, during the youth of Charles VIII. who was then but thirteen years and two months. Louis had named by his will Anne, his own eldest daughter, governess to the young king. Louis, duke of Orleans, claimed that place, as first prince of the blood; and John duke of Bourbon, elder brother of the lord of Beaujeu, and brotherin-law of Anne of France, contested it with him, arguing, that that prince, who was but twenty-three years of age, being himself a minor and under guardianship, was not sit to dispute with him for the principal authority in the government.

in the meeting of the states, according to the declaration of Charles V. who, as we have said in its proper place, fixed the majority of kings to the beginning of the fourteenth

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year. A council was established, in which it was resolved the king should preside, the duke of Orleans in his absence, and in failure of him, the duke of Bourbon, who was likewise made constable. Anne, Charles's sister, had the government of the king's person, according to the settlement of the late king.

The duke of Orleans, much distaissied with the resolution of the states, saw with regret the power of Anne increasing. That princess, under pretext of the government of Charles's person, made herself mistress in public affairs, and in the councils. This jealousy obliged him to court the friendship of

Francis II. duke of Brittany.

That duke's dominions, from the time of the assembly at Tours, were in great agitation. He had raised one named Landais, a man of the vilest extraction, and blindly abandoned himself to his advice. The barons of Brittany, who hated that favourite, had rebelled

against their duke.

The duke of Orleans, full of ambition, and disgusted with the management of affairs in France, took a fancy to marry Anne, eldest daughter and heiress of the duke of Brittany, and intending to make use of Landais in that design, he marched into Brittany to support him. The rebels on their side had recourse to the governess, who willingly took upon her their protection, out of opposition to Louis. After the rising of the states,

Charles had been carried to Rheims to be crowned, and afterward to Paris, into which.

he made his folemn entry.

Mean-time Olivier le Dain, surgeon and consident of the late king, being convicted of enormous crimes, was condemned to be hanged. John Doiac, a man of low birth, another of the favourites of the same prince, who had made him governor of Auvergne, was whipped by the hands of the hangman, and had his ears cut off. Thus wretches, who abuse the favour of kings, and give them bad advice, or make themselves the instruments of their passions, find at last the just punishment of their crimes.

The young king showed fine inclinations, and took pleasure in the reading of good books: he even began to fludy Latin, which the king his father had neglected to have him taught. As he had been brought up without any share of genteel conversation, and shut. up in the castle of Amboise, with a few perfons of low birth, so bad an education had accustomed him to allow himself to be governed by his valets. He gave up himself to be entirely conducted by them; and Anne of France, his lifter and governess, was forced to make use of them to support her own interest. Charles's favourites who perceived the duke of Orleans wearied of the present government, fought some person who might be able to support them against him. I had not to the

About the same time René, duke of Lor-

raine, grandson by his mother Yolanda of Anjou, of René king of Sicily, had come to court. He complained that his duchy of Bar was kept from him, and he claimed Provence, in right of his mother, daughter of that king. There was a great unwillingness to give him that province, to which the king had fo certain a right; but his duchy of Bar was restored to him; and with respect to Provence, he was always kept in hopes, with an intention to fet him in opposition to the duke of Orleans, who, excited by Francis count de Dunois, as bold as active, was gaining at Paris both the grandees and the populace.

The governess, informed of the duke's defigns, refolved to have him arrested; he got accounts of this, and made his escape. The duke of Bourbon, a constable without power, joined him with the other princes, and Landais engaged his master in that party. The governess, without loss of time, besieged the duke of Orleans in Beaujency, a place in his domains, whither he had retired, and pressed. him fo strongly, that he was forced to fue for an accommodation..

Peace was negotiated and concluded by the mediation of the duke of Lorraine, and of John of Chalons, prince of Orange, fon of a fifter of the duke of Brittany. The definitive treaty was made at Beaujency, but the duke of Brittany would not be included in it. By that agreement, the count de Dunois, of whom

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whom the governess stood much in awe, was obliged to retire to Ast\*. That town belonged to the duke of Orleans, and had been given in portion to Valentine his grand-mother, when she married Louis his grand-father.

After the peace, Louis duke of Orleans fent his troops to the duke of Brittany. The king marched against the last with his army, and continued to protect the barons against Landais, who was about to destroy them. They obliged the chancellor of Brittany to take informations against that favourite, and demand him from the duke, in order to his trial. The duke was obliged to deliver him up; but begged his life might be faved, and declared, that he pardoned him whatever crime he might have committed; which did not hinder him from being, a short time after, condemned and hanged. By that means the barons made their peace with their duke.

The governess, being informed that the duke of Orleans was making new attempts, sent for him to court, and sent toward Orleans the marshal de Gié, of the family of Rohan, with troops to oblige him to come. He took care not to deliver himself into the hands of his enemy. He amused the marshal by promising to be sooner at court than he, and under pretext of going a-hawking, he

retired

<sup>[\*</sup> Perhaps Aeth or Ath, a town of the Austrian Ne-

there by the duke, and entered into a very strict friendship with Guibé, Landais's nephew, who commanded the household troops.

Mean-time the count de Dunois leaving Aft, had engaged several princes in Louis's party. René, duke of Lorraine, wearied with the delays with which the governess amused him, joined them. The lords were coming from all quarters into Brittany, some out of kindness to Louis, and others in hopes of marrying Anne, daughter and heires of the duke of Brittany. The Brittons turned jealous of the duke of Orleans, and of the French whom they faw so powerful in their country. The lords who had rebelled, were afraid that their duke would make use of Louis to punish them; and threw themselves into the arms of the governess, who affured them of the king's protection.

The count de Rieux, marshal of Brittany, commanded them. A treaty was made by which the king might enter into Brittany in order to make himself master of the rebelprinces with 4000 foot and 400 lances. The king on his side promised to leave it as soon as the duke of Orleans and his associates should be gone. Mean-time the counts d'Angouleme and de Dunois, with some friends of the dukes of Orleans and Brittany, excited great commotions in Guienne. The king marched against them with all speed. The duke of Orleans's friends at court laid a plot

to carry him away. Some bishops, and Comines, entered into that design, which was discovered, and the accomplices seized.

They faid, by way of excuse, that the king, weary of being governed by his fifter, had confented to their plot, and the thing is not improbable. The governess, however, had power enough to get them brought to trial, and they were convicted, by their own letters, of having held a correspondence with the duke of Orleans. Comines, after being kept eight months in iron cages, of the invention of Louis XI. his mafter, was condemned, by a decree of parliament, to lose a part of his fortune, and to be ten years without appear. ing at court. With regard to the bishops, the difficulties which occurred in trying them, occasioned them to be kept two years in prifon, after which they were released at the pope's intercession.

The king then marched into Guienne. At his approach all the towns furrendered, and the province submitted. He turned toward Brittany, and in passing took Partenay in Poitou, in which was the count de Dunois. He divided his army in four, in order to enter Brittany, and stopped at Laval, where he waited the event. His army was much stronger than had been agreed; and the lords, surprised to see so great a force, perceived too late that they had called to their assistance a master instead of an ally. The king had declared that Brittany belonged to him by a cession from

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the heirs of Penthiévre, made in favour of Louis XI. and some lords were very glad of that claim, in the confused state of the affairs of Brittany.

The royal army immediately took several places of importance, among the rest Vannes and Dinan. The duke was besieged in Nantes, where, pressed by so powerful an enemy, he demanded succours from Maximilian, lately created king of the Romans, to whom, some historians say, that he had promised his daughter, and sent the count de Dunois into England.

Henry VH. earl of Richmond, descended from a daughter of the house of Lancaster, reigned there at that time He had been long a prisoner in Brittany, into which he was, thrown by a storm, after the last defeat of Henry VI. The duke guarded him carefully during all Edward's reign. After the duke's death he was released, and attempted something against Richard His party was beat, and he returned into Brittany, where Landais, gained by Richard, resolved to deliver him up. Being informed of this, he escaped into France, where Charles received him very kindly, and gave him three or four thousand, of the worst troops he had; with which joining some English fugitives, he had the courage to return to England. With these troops, for picked up, Richard's army was defeated, himself killed in the battle, and Henry was acknowledged king, as head of the house of Lancaster.

The duke was persuaded that Charles's successes would raise the jealousy of the king of England, and that his interest would induce him to succour Brittany; but the count de Dunois, whom he sent to him, being beat back by a storm, could never land in England, and was thrown on the coast of Lower Brittany. He did not remain there idle; for collecting the common people to the number of 60,000 men, he marched to Nantes, into which he threw some succours, and obliged the French to raise the siege.

As for Maximilian, he was too much busied in the Low Countries to be in a condition to assist his allies. The marshals des Cordes and de Gié had taken from him, by secret correspondence with the garrisons, St Omer and Thérouenne. They gained likewise a pitched battle against him; and that prince, unprovided of men and money, was reduced to make his complaints to Charles, who did not

make great account of them. Dentiller on bus

Much about the same time the inhabitants of Ghent rebelled against him, because he had taken away his son from them, and carried him to Mechlin. Several towns of Flanders followed that example. Maximilian himself was made prisoner at Brussels by the mob, who put to death several of his creatures. Notwithstanding the threatenings of the emperor his father, they wanted to deliver him up to the king their sovereign lord; he prevented

vented it only by his tears, and by his oaths

to forget every thing

As foon as he was at liberty, he retired into Germany, and gave the government both of his dominions, and of his fon Philip, to Albert duke of Saxony. It was at that time, according to fome historians, that the emperor Frederic III. or IV. according to others, erected Austria into an archduchy, to raise the title of his grandson, who from that time was called the Archduke Philip; but other authors say, that his father Maximilian had been decorated with it before.

Mean-time the king added the procedures of justice to the strength of arms against the rebels. Sitting in his parliament, he caused to be summoned the dukes of Orleans and Brittany, with the lords of their party, who, according to custom, were forfeited for nonappearance. That was a new title to authorise the seizure of Brittany, of which he was in the right to deprive a rebellious and contumacious vassal. When the Brittons perceived that he went much farther than he had right to do by the treaty, they fent to petition him to draw off his troops, and offered at the fame time to put the duke of Orleans out of their country: but the governess, proud of the success of the French arms, answered, that the king commanded, and did not intend to stand trifling in so fine a road.

That farcaim had a bad effect. The marshal de Rieux, followed by the rest of the lords,

lords, made his agreement with the duke, and retook feveral places, among others Vannes. Those of the family of Rohan remained steady to the king, who made use of their pretenfions to Brittany to give fuccess to his own affairs. La Trimouille, who was called Le chevalier fans reproche, " The blameless knight," entered Brittany with the king's army under his command. He took among other places Fougere, reckoned at that time one of the most considerable in Brittany, and St Aubin du Cormier. The duke of Orleans marched with his army to retake this last place, and, contrary to the opinion of the marshal de Rieux, he resolved to give battle.

His army confifted of 12,000 men. La Trimouille had no more, but his troops were fuperior in courage and discipline; and indeed at the very first attack the Brittons fled, and 6000 of them were killed on the fpot. The duke of Orleans and prince of Orange fighting valiantly on foot, were made prisoners. The governess set at liberty the prince of Orange, who had married her husband's fifter. As a sequel of this battle, Dinan and St Malo furrendered. The duke, discouraged with so many losses, sent ambassadors to the king, with letters in a very humble strain, in which he called him his fovereign lord, and took the title of his subject.

The ambaffadors had orders to ask pardon of the king in a very submissive manner. Charles, who was then between seventeen and

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eighteen years of age, answered of himself in a resolute tone, that even though the duke's rebellion deserved to be punished, and though it were easy for him to chastise it accordingly, he would, out of pure goodness, pardon him. Proposals of accommodation were afterward made, and a truce was agreed, on condition that the duke could not dispose of his daughters but with the king's consent, and that the places taken by the French should continue theirs.

That agreement became ineffectual by the duke's death. That prince, whom his great age and misfortunes had weakened extraordinarily, died at Nantes of a fall from his horse, leaving his two daughters Anne and Isabel in the keeping of the marshal de Rieux. After his death the duke of Lorraine was reconciled to the king, in hopes of getting from him some succours for conquering the kingdom of Naples.

The nobility of that kingdom had rebelled against King Ferdinand. That prince's insupportable tyranny had occasioned that rebellion. He was not satisfied with overburdening the people with taxes, without compassionating them in any sort, but he himself carried on traffic most unjustly and oppressively. He forced his subjects to sell him their merchandise at any price, and to buy them again very dear, though the price had lowered.

His anger was the most dangerous of any Vol. II. Z man's

man's that ever lived, as he covered his hatred with a fair appearance, and put his enemies to death when they thought themselves most secure. He put no restraints upon his defires, and proceeded even to force to glut his brutal passion for women. He had not preserved even the appearance of regard for things dedicated to religious uses, setting to auction abbacies and bishoprics, to such a scandalous degree that he fold that of Tarentum to a Jew, for his fon, upon the father's word that he was a Christian. A prince who despised God can hardly preserve respect among his people; and when he fo publicly renounces the divine protection, he deprives himself of the most invincible part of royal power. All the lords role against that cruel and impious king; the greatest part of the people followed them, and all together called René duke of Lorraine, descended of the family of Anjou, and of King René of Sicily, to make him their king.

Pope Innocent VIII. had espoused his party, and his galleys waited for him a long time at the port of Genoa; but in vain did he expect succours from France. The favourites said, that René wanted to deprive the king of the glory of conquering a kingdom, which Charles of Anjou, last titular king of Sicily, had left him by will. At length the pope and the lords of the kingdom of Naples made an accommodation with Ferdinand. The last reposed on his sidelity, for which they smarted;

for he put them all in prison: the prince of Salerno alone would never trust that perfidious

prince, and retired to Venice.

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During that time a marriage-treaty was on foot between the duchess of Brittany and John d'Albret, and the marshal de Rieux was anxiously bent on that affair. The princess was extremely averse to it, and thought that match very unsuitable, with a lord illustrious indeed by his birth; but from whom the king had feized all his places and lands in Gascony. The count de Dunois, by whose advice she was much guided, consirmed her in that thought, and had an intention to have her married to the duke of Orleans. By that count's affiftance, the extricated herfelf out of the hands of the marshal, and retired to Rennes, where several lords joined her; the rest were with the marshal de Rieux at Nantes, of which Albret was governor. The king begun the war again with greater keenness than ever on the side of Lower Brittany, where he took Brest, and some other places of importance.

There were at that time some proposals of accommodation made. The interests of the two parties were referred to Maximilian and the duke of Bourbon. These two arbiters ordered something provisionally, which was not executed; but Maximilian, before the arbitration, negotiated his own marriage with the princess, and married her by proxy. The matter was some time kept secret. At last,

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whether Charles had discovered it, or as induced by other reasons to have again recourse to arms, he continued his conquests. Maximilian sent a weak succour. The king of England, obliged to Charles, and dissatisfied with the Brittons, would not assist them; but, at the solicitation of his subjects, he sent six thousand foot, whom the duches put in her

garrisons.

That succour had no other effect, than to excite Charles to attack Brittany with a greater force. He invaded it on all fides, and it had been easy for him to have completely conquered it, had he not been hindered from for doing, by the remonstrances of Gui de Rochefort, chancellor of France. He represented to him, that it was neither just nor glorious for him to rob a princess still under age, his vassal and his kinswoman; and that he might have Brittany more honeftly and more certainly by marrying the heirefs. Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, given as a wife to Charles, was still too young for completing the marriage; and Anne, having married Maximilian himself only by proxy, the thing was thought practicable.

The governess, who expected to join to her own domain some part of Brittany, was very much vexed at the chancellor's discourse; but her interest was much fallen, and some of the king's officers had got entire possession of his ear. Mean-time Isabel, sister of the duchess of Brittany, died, and the king's

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marriage with Anne appeared still more advantageous. He was always marching forward to Brittany. Albret, disappointed of his pretensions, by the marriage of Maximilian, surrendered Nantes to the king. All the lords joined in pressing the princess to marry the king, as the sole method of giving peace to the country. She alone would not consent to the match, because she wanted neither to marry Charles, who had so harassed her, nor break her faith to Maximilian, who had always shown himself her friend.

The king was acquainted, that the duke of Orleans had much to fay with her; and that if he were liberated, that generous and grateful prince would be very ferviceable in an affair of fuch importance. Immediately Charles went himself to the tower of Bourges, without the privity of the governess, and liberated Louis, and discovered to him his intentions. That prince went into Brittany, where the count de Dunois and the prince of Orange laboured with him to very good purpose, in persuading the princess. She yielded to their reasonings, and the intreaties of her own states, who regarded that marriage as their greatest safety; and, being conducted to Langei in Touraine, where the king was, that prince married her there in the month of December 1491.

By the contract, the claims on Brittany were yielded to the longest liver of them two, in case of the other's death without issue.

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The king made a treaty with the states, for the preservation of the privileges of the country. But Maximilian filled all Europe with his complaints; he said it was an unworthy thing, that his son-in-law should put away his own wife, and rob his father-in-law of his. The king of England, jealous of so great an increase of power to France, landed at Calais, and besieged Boulogne, in which he was ill assisted by Maximilian. Then the factions, which had arisen in his own kingdom, recalling him, he took money from the king, and made peace with him.

Mean-time, Maximilian made himself master of Arras, and took St Omer by intelligence. He had like also to have surprised Amiens, into which his men had entered in the night-time. A woman discovered them, and encouraged the inhabitants, who repulsed the enemy very vigorously. Maximilian made a truce for a year with Charles, in name of the archduke Philip, his son, in which he

wanted not to be named himfelf.

What happened at that time in Spain, deferves to be related. Ferdinand, king of Arragon, had married Isabel, queen of Castille, and their power was become very considerable, by the union of those two kingdoms. To so extensive a power they joined great abilities and prudence. They resolved to drive out of Spain the Moors, who had now nothing left in it but the kingdom of Granada. The capital of that kingdom, and which gives it

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its name, was indeed very strongly fortified. It was taken after eight months siege, and so ended in Spain the kingdom of the Moors, which had lasted more than 700 years. In memory of a conquest so advantageous to Christendom, Ferdinand and Isabella received from the pope the confirmation of the title of Catholic, already borne by some kings of the Spains and Castille.

At the same time, to complete the glory and power of Ferdinand, Christopher Columbus was so lucky as to discover the new world, America, and subjugated it to that king, who with dissiculty had been brought to a resolution of giving him three ships for

so fine a discovery.

Pope Alexander VI. born at Valentia in Spain, and a subject of the king of Arragon, gave to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to their successors, both the territories already discovered, and those which might be discovered beyond a certain imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, on condition that they should send thither pious and learned persons, to settle Christianity in those vast regions. The Spanish arms made good that donation of the pope.

In France, they were intent on the conquest of Naples. The prince of Salerno, and several lords of the Anjou faction, had come to court to encourage the king to that enterprise; but the person who had most success in engaging him in it, was Ludovic Sforce,

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duke of Milan. He had a plot to usurp that duchy from John Galeas his nephew, whose guardian he had forcibly made himself, after banishing Bona of Savoy, sister of Queen Charlotte, wife of Louis XI. and mother of Charles VIII. She was censured for her gallantries, which rendered her despicable, and furnished Ludovic with reasons for banishing her.

John Galeas, his nephew, was a man of little virtue. Ludovic shut him up in a castle, and made himself master of that duchy. Maximilian, then emperor, (for his father Frederic was just dead), gave him the investiture of it, for a large sum of money, and entered into so strict a connection with Ludovic, that he even married Blanche his niece. But John Galeas had a great protector in the king of Naples, whose grand-daughter by his eldest son he had married. This interest pushed him to humble that family. For that purpose he excited the ambition of Charles; and as he was very cunning, by gaining his council, he filled his head with that conquest.

Ferdinand, king of Arragon, always attentive to his own affairs, had the dexterity to make use of that conjuncture to get back the counties of Roussillon and Cerdaigne engaged to Louis XI. by King John his father. It was pretended in the king's council, that his majesty was not obliged to receive the repayment, after John had broken the conditions

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tions of the treaty, by retaking Perpignan; but Ferdinand found means to surmount that obstacle.

As it was his usual game to make piety subservient to his own interests, he had the dexterity to gain two monks, the one a preacher of the king's, and the other of the duchess of Bourbon. This was the governess, whose husband was become duke of Bourbon, by the death of his elder brother without iffue. These two monks maintained that the king could not in conscience retain those two counties. Louis, Cardinal d'Amboise, who had been preceptor to the king, espoused that opinion. He even advised to give Ferdinand the full and complete favour of restoring to him those counties, without demanding any repayment, only binding him to give no fuccours to the king of Naples, his kinfman, as he might eafily do by means of his kingdom of Sicily. He promised all they wanted; but he was not fo religious in keeping his word, as dexterous in managing his interests.

This agreement was followed some time after by one with Maximilian. For, after sying into violent and abusive language against Charles, he perceived that his passion was greater than his strength; and that he was able to do nothing against France. After the death of Frederic his father, he found much business in Germany, which obliged him to desire peace. It was concluded by the mediation

mediation of the princes of Germany and the Swiss. They restored the places which remained in his possession in Artois, the castles of which he was to keep for four years, that is to say, till the Archduke Philip should be of age. The county of Burgundy was likewise restored to him, and the other lands which had been given as a portion to Margaret his sister. That princess was delivered back into the hands of Maximilian; every thing was peaceable in France, and the king's thoughts were now wholly turned on the affairs of Italy.

That country, formerly the mistress of the world, was at that time under the dominion of several powers. The pope held there the first rank, more from the dignity of his see than the extent of his territories, which were then far less than at present. The weakness of the preceding pontificates had given opportunity to the governors of Romania to make to themselves a principality of their governments, in which the pope was acknow-

ledged only by way of ceremony.

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The republic of Venice, besides being mistress of the Adriatic sea, had many countries in the neighbourhood of that sea, both in Italy and on the opposite coast: the republic had also several islands in the Archipelago and elsewhere, among others that of Cyprus, of which they had lately got possession. So great a power excited the jealousy of all Italy, and seemed to be in a condition to subdue it, if

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the other states confederated together had not kept the republic at under. It was governed,

as it is still, by the nobility and senate.

There was in Italy another very powerful republic, that of Florence, a town of great trade and riches, which possessed all Tuscany, and had lately conquered the town of Pisa. This republic, quite popular in its origin, had allowed the Medicis to gain an almost supreme power: the attempt of the Pazzis against Laurence de Medicis had only confirmed his authority, which he had left whole and entire to Peter his eldest son, and he young and hasty, exercised it very haughtily.

The duke of Milan, master of Lombardy, a country of great riches and extent of territory, had numerous forces of his own, and still more numerous by his alliances. The Bentivoglios, lords of Bologna, were his chief friends. He held in homage of our kings the principality of Genoa, of which however the inhabitants were not quite obedient to

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Finally, there was the kingdom of Naples, comprehending from the Abruzzo to the sea, all the territories on both sides of the Appennine mountains, an agreeable country, full of sine towns, and abounding in all things. Several other petty princes, and some less considerable republics, were preserved by contracting alliances, sometimes with one, and sometimes with another of those principal powers.

Alexander

Alexander VI. at that time possessed the holy see, and had obtained it by money. He was a man scandalous for his dishonesty, irreligion, insatiable avarice, and his disorderly life, and who besides sacrificed every thing to his boundless desire of aggrandising his bastard children. Ferdinand, king of Naples, had brought him over to his interests, by giving his natural daughter with a great portion to one of that pope's sons.

The Venetians wished for the diminution of the kings of Naples, whose power hindered them from improving; but they were asraid of incurring the reproach of bringing the king of France into Italy; so they resolved to let him be doing, and in the mean time to take advantage of seasons and opportunities.

Wherefore when Charles solicited them to concur in his designs against Ferdinand, on account of the ancient friendship between the kings of France and the republic of Venice, they declined it, as being afraid of the Turks; though they were at peace with them, and though Bajazet II. who was then on the throne, was a prince very little to be dreaded.

At Florence the people were naturally inclined by affection for France, and were besides interested by their commerce with the French; but the connections that Peter of Medicis had contracted with Ferdinand to support himself, gave him a bias to his side; so that when he was pressed by the king's ministers to declare in his favour, he contented

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contented himself with answering, that he should send ambassadors to carry him his final determination.

There was none for the king but the duke of Milan alone, and we had enemies against us who had the reputation of understanding the art of war. Mean time the duke, pushed by the interest which we have mentioned, ceased not to excite him to so dangerous an enterprise; and in order to instame the courage of that young prince, he showed him not only Italy vanquished, but the Ottoman

power fubdued by his arms.

The wifest heads of France opposed that expedition, in which they saw so great difficulties; but Stephen de Vesc, a man of low birth, one of the king's chamberlains, whom he had made seneschal of Beaucaire, and William Briconnet, his treasurer-general, afterward made a cardinal, who managed him, got the thing resolved upon. An agreement was made between the king and Ludovic, by which this last promised to the king to lend him 200,000 silver ducats, give him a passage through his territories, and 500 men; and the king on his side was to support Ludovic in the Milanese, and give him the principality of Tarentum, after the conquest.

Upon the rumor of that alliance and of Charles's preparations, Ferdinand put on a good countenance, and showed that he thought himself secure from the good order of his affairs; but he was secretly using his

Vol. II. A a endeavours

endeavours with the king to divert him from his design, so far as to offer to do him homage, and give him an annual tribute. Charles, without listening to him, assumed the title of king of Jerusalem and of the Two Sicilies, and then declared war. On that piece of news, Ferdinand died of grief. Alphonso his son, as mischievous and as much hated as himself, began his reign, by causing all the lords to be murdered, who, as we have said, surrendered upon his father's word.

Mean-time Charles caused equip a very considerable sleet at Genoa, whither he had sent the duke of Orleans with some troops. He advanced to Lyons, and afterward to Vienne, to hear the news, and give his orders more conveniently. He sent into Romania Aubigny, a Scots lord of great consideration, with 200 French soldiers, and 500 Italians, whom Ludovic, according to the treaty, had joined under the command of the count de Cajazzo, his consident. The French men of arms \* were to have with them two archers each, and every archer a servant on horseback. Aubigny had besides some infantry.

Alphonso was determined on a stout defence; and immediately he applied himself to gain the pope, who, to oblige him to do what he pleased, feigned some inclination toward

<sup>[\*</sup> So formerly they called gentlemen on horseback, armed with lances, and themselves, and horses, wearing weighty defensive armour.]

France: he foon found means to foften him by fome advantages which he bestowed on his bastards, so that he gave him the investiture which he had refused to Charles, and concluded with him a defensive league. He put every thing in motion against the French: he used all his endeavours to stir up the Venetians, and not being able to accomplish it by himself, he prevailed with the Turk to declare to them, that he would make war against them, unless they did so against the French.

Alexander was in an intimate correspondence with the Turk, on account of Zizim his brother, whom he had in his hands. The misfortunes of that young prince are among the most remarkable events of the history of. After rebelling against Bajazet that time. his brother, who defeated him, he threw himself into the arms of the knights of Rhodes, the greatest enemies of his family. He was afterward carried into France, where he was long confined by those knights. popes obliged Peter d'Aubussion the grandmaster of these knights to deliver up to the holy fee, that unfortunate prince, whom they wanted to use either to make war against the Turk, or to frighten him into their own measures.

Bajazet was afraid of nothing so much as of his brother, because he was beloved by the people. Alexander received a large pension for keeping him, and by that means lived in

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great correspondence with Bajazet. He employed his interest to excite the Turks against the French, who, said he, after conquering Italy, were threatening the Ottoman empire. With all those remonstrances he got nothing of Bajazet, but money, for his menaces of declaring war against the Venetians did not move them.

Mean time Alphonso had equipped a fleet, which he kept in the harbour of Pisa, under the command of his brother Frederic. His land-army, commanded by Frederic his fon, was fent into Romania. The duke of Milan cused the king to be pressed to march in person to that conquest. The cardinal de St Pierre-aux-liens \*, an enemy of the pope and friend of the duke, came and offered him his service, and affured him that he should be master of Ostia, of which he was governor, as well as bishop. Charles, with so many flattering expectations, was extremely anxious to take the field; but the duke and duchess of Bourbon and all the persons of ability and ex-perience in France, did all they could to diyert him; they thought his force too fmall to go himself on so dangerous an enterprise. His finances had been exhaufted by equipping a fleet which remained useless: besides, the persons by whom he was governed, had neither capacity nor experience. This melancholy state of affairs made every body tremble; frequently even the favourites were

<sup>[\*</sup> St Peter in bonds.]

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frighted. The expedition was laid aside one day, and renewed the next. Briconnet, at that time bishop of St Malo, overcome either by argument or by fear, no longer advised it. The seneschal was single in his opinion for it; and Charles, who on one fide was wedded to his own inclination, and on the other easy to be led by his courtiers who knew his temper, determined to fet out. The city of Paris fent a deputation to diffuade him from it, but he had no regard to their advice. could detain that young prince, and in vain did the pope too partially threaten him with excommunication if he entered Italy. After leaving the regency of the kingdom to Peter duke of Bourbon, he set out for that country about the end of August 1494.

He had 1600 men of arms, which, with their followers, made about 10,000 household cavalry, [gendarmerie]. The two hundred ordinary gentlemen of his household, three or four hundred light horse, six thousand Gascon foot, (for the French infantry were usually raised in that province), and fix thousand Swiss. The king was but twenty-two years of age, and many of the young nobility who accompanied him, knew no more of the matter than himfelf. During his march, Frederic, who commanded Ferdinand's fleet, thought to surprise ours in the harbour of Genoa, and raise an infurrection in that city, by means of several banished persons who followed him. He took post at Rapalo near to Genoa; but whilst he Aa3

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was there waiting the effect of his correspondence, the duke of Orleans, though weaker, fought him in his post where he had fortified

himself, and obliged him to retire.

On the report of this victory, young Ferdinand was furprifed. The pope being terrified drew off his troops, who were to enter Romania with him. So Aubigny remained there fole mafter of the field, and those good accounts were brought to the king at Aft. He there received the respects of the duke and duchess of Milan, who came thither to wait upon him with a great retinue. Notwithstanding those successes, fears were renewed. Charles began to be in want of money, and was reduced to borrow from all quarters, to that degree, that the duchess of Savoy and marchioness of Montferrat, who were very much in the interest of France, pawned their jewels to get money to lend him.

He staid long at Ast, quite undetermined what to do; but Ludovic made every thing easy by lending him more money. With that supply the king was preparing to set out; but he was retarded by the small pox, of which he had like to have died. The disease was not of long continuance, and Charles was in a condition to march by the beginning of October. He sent Comines, who was restored to savour, ambassador to Venice, and went himself straight to Pavia. There begun the suspicions between him and the duke of Mi-

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That duke did not incline that he should enter the castle where he kept his nephew John Galeas a close prisoner; but the king would lodge there, and must be obeyed; he even caused the watch to be reinforced in the night-time, and Ludovic being surprised, asked if he had any distrust of him. No body, not even the king himself, saw John Galeas; he was drawing to his end by a flow poison which his uncle had given him. The French were provoked that he should have brought Charles to see his own cousin-german dying by so execrable a piece of villany. They foon after heard, that he was expiring; which obliged Ludovic to return speedily to Milan, where he completely established his own authority after the death of that unhappy man, to the prejudice of a fon of five years of age, whom he left behind him.

As the king advanced, Italy was filled with furprise and terror. In that country the use of artillery was not well understood, whereas ours was excellent and well commanded. That, joined to the reputation of the French for valour, made every body tremble; but those French who were so terrible, were themselves as a raid, when at Placentia they had like to have returned home. They began to be in want of every thing, and several of those who had given their advice for the expedition

were on the point of losing courage.

They saw the pope putting every thing in motion against us. The king was also get-ting

vic, of whom he began to have a diffidence. The duke's authority being confirmed, he was in greater fear of the French than in need of their assistance; so every thing was to be dread-

ed from fo dangerous a person.

Besides, the king did not know what party the Florentines would join. The ambassadors of the republic, chosen by Peter de Medicis, had betrayed their constituent, and had furnished Charles with the means of gaining the people, whose trade made it very improper for them to fall out with France. But Peter, who was always a friend of Alphonso king of Naples, who had succeeded his father in 1494, was the chief person in the town, in which it seemed no body durst oppose him.

Though the king appeared very resolute, he was nevertheless disconcerted by so many disagreeable incidents; and he himself, who before was so determined on the expedition, was contriving his return, when he got information that divisions run high in Florence. Thereupon it was resolved to march straight to that city, in order to engage it on the side of France, whilst it was undetermined, or to take it by force whilst it was weakened by its

diffensions.

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Peter was not ignorant of the secret practices carrying on against him in the city, in which he perceived his power was but ill secured. When then he saw the king approaching, he resolved to go and meet him, and was at the

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first obliged to put into his hands, by way of deposit, during the war, Serezano, the strongest place belonging to the Florentines. He was forced afterward to furrender to the king, on the fame conditions, Leghorn, a famous harbour, Pifa, Pietra-Santa, and Serefanella, and to promife moreover, that the Florentines should lend 200,000 ducats. He granted all those things without communing upon them with those whom the city had given him for counsellors, and they were very much furprifed that he had fo eafily delivered up to

strangers all the strength of the state.

Mean-time Aubigny took the caftle of Mardano in Romania, and by that conquest brought over to his party the county-of Imola, and the town of Forli. Ludovic, terrified with the successes of the French, came and demanded Serezana and Pietra Santa, as places holding of the principality of Genoa. They were refused to him: he retired diffatisfied, under pretext of attending his own private affairs, and never faw the king again. The expedition nevertheless continued with the fame good fuccess. The king was received at Pisa with loud applause; but Galeas count de St Severin, Ludovic's confident, whom he had left with the king, instigated the Pisans to demand their liberty. Ludovic expected that fome infurrection would happen, and that he might find means in the confusion to make himself master of the town. The people then run about the king, crying out,

out, Liberty; and the master of requests, who was walking before him as usual to receive petitions, told him, that he ought to grant them their demand. The king did so, without examining what he was giving, and without knowing any thing else, but that the princes of Italy treated their subjects very ill.

At the same time that the inhabitants of Pifa stood for up their liberty, a great insurrection happened at Florence against Peter. His enemies made use of the treaty that he had made with the king, to render him odious to the people, as a traitor to his country. As foon as he returned, he appeared in the council, to give an account to the feigniory of what had passed. The gate was shut against his retinue, and he perceived he was undone. He retired in a great fright, and heard on all fides, as he paffed along, the people crying out, Liberty. So, despairing of his affairs, he fled to Bologna, and from thence to Venice. By a decree of the seigniory he was banished from Florence, with all the Medicis. His house, which he had prepared for the king's reception, was plundered, with his money and most precious jewels.

The king stopped near Florence to allow the tumult to be appeased, and give time to Aubigny to join him, according to the orders sent him for that purpose. At the king's approach the Florentines had reason to be apprehensive, because they had banished Peter for treating with him; but as they were not

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the stronger party, they were forced to open their gates; and the king entered their city in armour, with his lance presented like a conqueror. His person was little and weakly, his deportment not very graceful, but his power and great success gained him the re-

fpect of all the people.

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The seigniory sent a deputation of some persons of rank to treat with him. Some exorbitant proposals were made to them in the king's name. Whilft they were reading them, one of the deputies pulled them out of the hands of the reader, and told the king, tear. ing them, that fince his demands were fo high, he might order his trumpets to be founded, and they should ring their bells. Upon that there was a necessity to be more gentle, and an accommodation was concluded on more equitable terms. The Florentines engaged to lend the king a large fum of money, of which they paid a great part down in cash. He received them under his protection, and promifed them upon oath to restore their places four months after the conquest of Naples, and even fooner if he returned to France. It was agreed, that he should leave them an ambassador, without whose concurrence they should not name a captain-general, nor come to any resolution on their present affairs.

That prince endeavoured to make a reconciliation for Peter; and in the mean time he obliged the seigniory to take off the ban of the Medicis, with certain restrictions. So

many

many unexpected successes surprised the Venetians, who had for a long time laughed at Charles's enterprise, as thinking it impracticable. The pope, the king of Naples, and Ludovic, took great pains to animate them. Maximilian, naturally an enemy of France, was so much the more afraid of her successes, that he was told Charles designed to make himself emperor in his place, and that he had already made the proposal to the pope; which was not true. Ferdinand king of Arragon, being in fears for Sicily and Sardinia, joined Charles's enemies, notwithstanding his obligations to him, and the promises he had made him not to disturb his designs on Italy.

The ambassadors of those princes were at Venice, and Comines, who faw them affembled there from fo many places, had suspected what happened. Those of the duke of Milan endeavoured to amuse him, by asking him what the ministers of the emperor and of the king of Spain were doing at Venice. They told him, that, for their parts, they were come on account of the ambassadors which the republie had fent to their master, and that, moreover, he wanted to keep up a good correfpondence with the king; but Comines, who knew the whole plot, refolved to come to an explanation upon it with the ambaffadors of the duke and the seigniory. The former denied the fact; and as to the feigniory, upon Comines's representing to them, that by the treaties made between the kings of France and vinen

and the Venetians, the one could not support the enemies of the other, the Doge answered him, in name of the senate, that far from making any confederacy against the king, they were only contriving to make one with him against the Turk; that the king and they would force the other princes to enter into it, and that if money were necessary, the seigni-

ory would furnish it.

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Mean time they proposed an accommodation for the affairs of Naples, by which that kingdom should be held of Charles in homage; that that prince should retain three places there, and that he should have as much money as he wanted. Comines answered, that he had no orders to hear those proposals, and that he should write of them to the king his master. He begged them, however, to superfede any proceedings about them, and tell him if they had any cause of complaint. The duke told him, that the republic had great reason to be surprised, that the king having shown that he wanted nothing in Italy but the kingdom of Naples, and then to turn his arms against the Turk, was speaking no more of the Turk; and that he nevertheless obliged the Florentines to put their best places into his hands; but that even though that behaviour gave them a just cause of diffidence, they should keep things as they were till they got his answer.

The king was all this while at Florence, where Comines informed him of all those Vol. II. Bb matters;

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matters; but his council, which so many successes silled with considence, thought little of it. Mean-time the affair of the alliance was put off. The pope was irresolute, and the Venetians naturally pretty slow in their deliberations, were not in haste, expecting that at Viterbo, or at least at Rome, Charles might find some resistance; but that prince was always proceeding, and Sienna opened its gates to him.

Much about the same time the pope's army joined Ferdinand, fon of Alphonso king of Naples, to dispute with Charles the passage of Viterbo. Charles was on his guard. By his orders, the cardinal of St Pierre-aux-liens had returned to Offia, from whence he cut off the enemies provisions, and the Colonni gained over to France, over-run all Romania. Ferdinand, fon of Alphonso, found himself too weak to attempt any thing, and the king took possession of Viterbo without dissiculty. All the neighbouring places furrendered. The pope was frightened, and fent to treat about an accommodation; and the king fent him back with the fame intention Trimouille, one of his chamberlains, who had a great share of his confidence.

In this negotiation, as the pope was making various proposals of accommodation both for himself and for the king of Naples, Charles told plainly, that he should hear what the holy father would propose on his own account; but that as for Alphonso, he should give him no other conditions than to yield him the king-

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dom. In the midst of the treaty the pope refolved suddenly to make Ferdinand and his army enter Rome, and seemed to be preparing for a defence. Charles arrived at Ostia, and at the same time twenty fathoms of wall fell down. That surprised every body, and made them say more than ever, that the hand of God was in it.

All Italy was full of that thought. Long before Jerome Savonarola, a Jacobin monk, had preached that God intended to make use of the king of France to chastise the tyrants of Italy, and reform by the sword the abuses of the church; that nothing should be able to oppose his arms; and that he should make a conquest of Naples without resistance. In fact, the king was advancing towards Rome through the territories of the Ursini, who were entirely devoted to him. The pope, despairing to be able to resist, caused the gates to be opened.

Whilst the king was entering on one side, Ferdinand was going out on the other. Few cardinals remained with the pope, who shut himself up in the castle of St Angelo; all the rest came and met the king along with the magistrates, and all the city ran thither with shouts of rejoicing. He entered in armour, and with his lance presented, as the master of that city, which may be called the capital of the Christian world. All conversation run upon deposing the pope, as being guilty of simony and of a scandalous life.

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Twice the batteries were raised, and the cannon ready to fire against the castle of St Angelo, which was not able to hold out. Respect for the pontifical dignity, though in an unworthy person, stopped the king. Peace was made on condition that the pope should give the king, till his return from Naples, Terracina, Viterbo, Civita-Vecchia, and Spoleto, but the

last place was not delivered.

The pope created two cardinals at Charles's request, Briconnet, bishop of St Malo, and the bishop of Mans, of the family of Luxemburg. It was likewife fettled, that Cardinal Valentine, the pope's fon, should follow the king as a legate in appearance, and in effect as an hostage. Besides that, Charles, who defigned, immediately after the conquest of Naples, to go and attack the Turk even in Constantinople, obliged the pope to deliver him up Zizim. He did deliver him, but after having given him a flow poison of which he died foon after. Bajazet had written to the pope, that he should do well to cause Zizim pass from this miserable life to a better, and that on fending him his body, he would give him a great fum of money.

Mean-time the affairs of Naples were falling into great confusion. Alphonso, who saw the king approaching, and that every thing was open to him, durst not oppose his march, though he was reckoned a man of courage and a warriour; but, as Comines remarks, a cruel man was never valiant. He was in III.

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great terror, and day and night thought the French were pursuing him. At last perceiving himself persecuted by the implacable hatred of his subjects, he resolved to give up the kingdom to his son Ferdinand, whom the people loved. As soon as he had made that cession, he thought of nothing but setting out in a great hurry. He thought, he said, the trees and stones were crying out France; and the least impediment put in his way made him threaten to throw himself out of the window, so much was he terrisied. His retirement was in Sicily, whither it was his

greatest care to carry delicious wines.

When Ferdinand had taken possession of the kingdom, all animolities were forgotten, and his subjects began to take courage again, but affairs were already in a bad condition. Charles had fent troops upon the frontiers, and all Abruzzo had revolted. In order to defend the territory of Labour, Ferdinand occupied the post of St Germain, which was in the entry to the kingdom. He seized an advantageous camp there with an army of 1000 horse and 6000 foot, having before him the river Garigliani, on one fide craggy mountains, and on the other a great marsh. In that place he waited for the French army. Charles marched from Rome; and when he was at Veletri, Cardinal Valentine made his escape, which showed the pope's bad intentions.

The king, continuing his march, took by
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ftorm Montefortino and Mont St John, two very considerable castles, of which the last was strongly situated, and provided in every thing. In the whole course of the conquests, on these two occasions only was there a necesfity for drawing a fword. The report of the taking of those places spread such a panic in Ferdinand's army, that it run away, and that prince was forced to leave his cannon to his He retired in the utmost grief to Capua, where he met with new causes of discontent; the inhabitants allowed him to enter, and shut the gate against his retinue. Upon his entry he heard that Naples had rebelled. He was forced to go thither in all hafte, after exhorting those of Capua to continue faithful to him. He added promises to return in a few days to defend them; but hardly was he gone, when John James Trivulce, governor of the place, furrendered it to Charles.

Ferdinand, after somewhat appeasing the commotions at Naples, returned to Capua. He was but two miles from it, when the inhabitants wrote him that he had no business to approach, and that the city belonged to the French. In despair upon that news, he returned to Naples, where, resolving upon a retreat, he previously had the citizens assembled in order to harangue them before his departure. He showed them, that, at his accession to the crown, he had been extremely anxious to make them forget, by his humane treatment of them, the evils which they had suffered

fuffered from his ancestors; that whilst he entertained these hopes, he was hindered from doing fo by the French, to whom he was forced to yield; that he exhorted them likewise to fubmit to those conquerors, till he should come and extricate them from oppression. which he hoped to do foon, provided they remained faithful to their native prince, who loved them fo tenderly. The people appeared affected with that speech; but Ferdinand had no fooner retired, than news was brought him that they were plundering his stables. He departed provoked at the audaciousness and inconstancy of that people, whom he drove from about the castle. When he entered it again, he perceived that 500 Swiss whom he had put there to guard it, wanted to seize him, and he found no other method of extricating himself out of their hands than by opening to them his treasures.

While they were dividing them, he set at liberty the prisoners, whom his father had confined in the castle, and made his escape to Ischia, a little island near Capri, at the entry of the gulf of Naples. The governor received him without any attendants; but, by his courage and assiduity, he soon made himself

master of the fortress.

Charles arrived at Naples a little after Ferdinand left it. He made so speedy marches after the action at St Germain, that he usually arrived in the evening at the place which his enemies had left in the morning. Averso, which which was in his road, surrendered after the example of Capua; and there the deputies of Naples came to assure the king of their obedience. He granted them great privileges, and arrived at last at Naples, where it is not credible how much joy all the city expressed. The people, so much abused by the princes of Arragon, thought themselves delivered from an insupportable tyranny when they saw them expelled. All parties seemed to be united, and the Arragonians showed still more zeal than the rest. Charles went and alighted at the cathedral church, and from thence to his lodging at the castle called Capuano.

The new castle and the castle of the Egg, where there was a garrison, was still in the hands of the enemy, and the marquis de Pescara held out the new castle for Ferdinand. The sleet which Charles had equipped at so great expense, cast by a storm in the neighbourhood of Corsica, appeared on the coast of Naples a little after the king entered it. The two castles were soon reduced, partly by intelligence, and partly by fear. In the new castle was found a prodigious quantity of provisions, which the king gave to the first who asked them, and those great stores were dissipated.

The towns of the kingdom, in emulation of each other, furrendered to those whom Charles sent to take them. The lords of the country, except the marquis de Pescara, and two or three others, came with officious eagerness to

do homage to him. Europe looked with amazement on so rapid a conquest: it seemed that Italy had been fuddenly deprived of action by a kind of inchantment. The pope faid, the king had not made a war, but a peaceable progress, in which he had no need to fend generals to take the places, but only harbingers to mark out his lodgings. If a small body had been sent at first to Ischia with some artillery, in the state affairs were at that time, the castle would have surrendered; but as soon as the king was master of Naples, nothing was thought of but entertainments, justing, and diversions. Our people despited the Italians whom they had so easily vanquished, and scarcely did they think them men.

Stephen de Vesc, whom Charles created duke of Nola, and constable of Naples, did indeed all he could for the preservation of that kingdom; but he took a greater load of business than he was able to bear, so every thing fell into very great confusion. Charles missed Brindisi \*, which wanted to surrender, but he did not fend his troops thither foon enough. The same thing happened to him at Reggio, a place of importance on the streights of Sicily, because he had given that town to one of his courtiers, which would belong to none but himself. The castle of Gallipoli in Abruzzo was in the same way neglected, with some other places. At last the king sent the fleet to Ischia, which was found too strong to

<sup>[\*</sup> The ancient Brundusium.]

be attacked. Ferdinand in the mean time retired into Sicily. There was no talk of the Turks, who were trembling at Constantinople at the report of the king's conquests. A cheap purchase might have been had of them under a prince of so little valour as Bajazet; but some correspondences that were carried on in Greece on the side of Thessaly were discovered, and as is thought by the Venetians. Zizim died, and with him the chief ex-

pectation of the French was defeated.

These misfortunes disgusted the king, who besides begun already to be wearied of Naples, and to be bent upon nothing but France, as well as the nobility which attended him. Mean-time his enemies were not afleep, and the league was forming. The Venetians, who had flattered themselves with the hopes that he should find much resistance on his passage, were confounded when they saw him at Naples. They however fent for Comines, to express to him the joy of the republic on the king's progress, adding, that he would find more difficulty in the castle. They could not believe that the places could be taken fo quickly, and the great successes of the French warned them to fortify themselves.

When the news of its being taken arrived, they could not restrain themselves from expressing their sorrow. The Doge failed not to make to Comines, with a gay countenance, the compliments usual on such occasions; but the rest gave evident tokens of their dissatisfi-

faction.

faction. Comines continued to warn the king of what was contriving against him, exhorting him to reinforce his army and to remain at Naples, or to leave it speedily before the confederates had concluded their treaty, or had leisure to assemble their troops. He gave, at the same time, the necessary informations to the duke of Orleans, then at Ast, and to the regent the duke of Bourbon in France.

A little after the treaty of the league was finished. Comines was sent for to the senate, where the Doge declared to him, that in the name of God the republic had concluded a league with the pope, the emperor, the kings of Spain and Naples, and the duke of Milan, that he might acquaint the king his master of it, and that, for their parts, they had recalled their ambaffadors. was moved with that speech, in his fears for the king, who had thoughts of his return. But he answered very calmly, that he knew their intentions a long time ago; that he had given information of them to the king and to the ministry in France; and that they would find things better prepared than they thought of. Iw is a morning public one inom

They answered that their league was not against the king, but against the common enemy, and in particular for the defence of Italy; that, besides, they were not to have suffered him to abuse the world any more, by his pretences of attacking the Turk; while

his thoughts were only bent on the invasion of Italy, and seizing the places belonging to the pope and the Florentines. To which Comines answered, that the kings of France were accustomed to do good to the holy see, and in that particular the king his master sur-

passed his predecessors.

Whilst this discourse was passing, the senators put on a haughty look. The league was proclaimed with great solemnity. In the evening were bonsires, illuminations, and public rejoicings. The senate wanted that a minister of Bajazet, who was then privately at Venice, should be witness of that solemnity; and they who complained so loudly of Charles's allowing the Turks to live in quiet, contrived every thing to please them.

Mean-time the Neapolitans begun to grow out of conceit with the French. Though the privileges of the people were carefully preferved to them, they were not treated with the gentleness necessary to accustom new subjects to a foreign government. The nobility might have kept them on their good behaviour; but they were discontented, on seeing that they were themselves excluded from the government and public offices, all which Charles gave to the French. Such who had been attached to the family of Anjou, were no better treated than the Arragonians, and all were equally difgusted. The king's ministers thought of nothing but enriching themdel set preadante to asona felves;

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selves, and took money from all such as had

business with them for dispatch.

Things being in that situation, the news of the conclusion of the league disposed the minds of that naturally fickle people to rebellion. Otranto, which had fet up the French flag, took it down, and returned to Ferdinand's party. The king, being refolved to fet out, wanted previously to use his endeavours to disengage the pope from the league. He got answers not very satisfactory, which hastened his departure. He named for viceroy Gilbert de Montpensier, a prince of the house of Bourbon, with whom he left 2000 Swifs, with 500 French horsemen in complete armour. He ordered the fleet to Leghorn, and Aubigny to continue in Calabria, where Ferdinand had retaken some places of fmall importance. Data .official work

The new duke of Nola had orders to remain some time with the viceroy, to direct his councils and manage the sinances; but Charles left no other money in the kingdom but the current revenues. During his residence of a month at Naples, he caused a coin to be struck, on which he was intitled king of Sicily and of Jerusalem. After which he made his solemn entry into that city, with vast magnificence, and in Imperial robes, as emperor of Constantinople. He had a crown of gold on his head, and held in his right hand a golden apple, and the sceptre in his left.

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The king set out immediately after those Vol. II. C c ceremonies,

ceremonies, without taking care to flore and provide the castles of Naples, or the other places of the kingdom, that might keep the people in awe. He had goo horiemen in complete armour, including his household, and 2500 Swiss, with the French infantry. There might be about 1500 guards \* attending the court, in all about 9000 men. This was the army with which Charles was to traverse all Italy, full of potentates in arms a-

gainst him.

Herena aniwers not very familia When he drew near Rome, the pope left the castle of St Angelo well guarded, and retired to Orvieto. Though he had entered into the league against Charles, that religious prince committed no hostilities on the patrimony of the church; he even restored the places which belonged to the holy fee. He only passed by Rome, and went straight to Sienna, where Comines had orders to meet him. As foon as the king faw him, he asked him, as it were in joke, if the Venetians would not come and meet him. The young courtiers, who imagined that none but they were able to draw a fword, fmiled when they heard that faid. Comines answered the king, with as serious an air as the thing deferved, that the fenate had fent him word, that he should find 40,000 men to obstruct his passage; and advised him to pass on quickgold on his head, and held in his right hand

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Ambassadors came from Florence, who proposed to add a great sum of money to that which they had promised to the king, and to join him with 300 horsemen in complete armour, provided he would be pleafed to restore their places, especially those which he had unjust ly fet at liberty. Jerome Savonarola, who had so much preached up the king's coming, joined them in this demand. He spoke boldly to Charles, warning him of the very great dangers he had to encounter in his march; and promifing that God would glorioufly extricate him out of them; but that for failing to obey his orders concerning the reformation of his church, and for fuffering the robberies and extortions of his foldiers, there was a fentence pronounced against him, and that he fhould foon have a lash of the rod; that, moreover, he should not think to excuse himself, by faying, that he did no harm, because he was guilty of all he did not prevent; but that, if he had compassion on the people, and redressed abuses, God would revoke or miornines had lent to r tigate his sentence.

The king was moved with that discourse, and the authority of a man of so great reputation induced him to do justice to the Florentines. All men of prudence advised him to accept their offers, retaining only Leghorn till he were at Aft; but the young courtiers put other things in his head, especially

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the count de Ligni, of the family of Luxemburg, his own cousin-german, who was a great favourite. That young lord was persuaded that he might become prince of Sienna, because the people were asking him.

Comines strongly represented to the king, that he must profit of the opportunity, and not amuse himself with popular commotions, which lasted but a few days. Notwithstanding those wise counsels, the king detained by so slight matters, and by his pleasures, passed eight days at Sienna, in which he lest 300 men. He put likewise garrisons in other places, not at all necessary to be kept, and so diminished an army, which was already too weak.

Mean-time, the duke of Milan, who had undertaken to interrupt his passage, and to take Ast, sent thither Galéas de St Severin, with some troops. He made some unreasonable proposals to the duke of Orleans; but the duke, whose place was well provided, without making any answer, marched out with his troops, and obliged St Severin to retire. In consequence of the accounts which Comines had fent to France, there were coming every day from thence troops to join the army. The duke had orders to attempt nothing against Ludovic, and to come and meet the king, in order to facilitate his paffage. His own interest and the claims that he had on the duchy of Milan, in right of Valentina his grandmother, induced him to lay

lay siege to Novara, which he took by intelligence. Had he marched straight to Milan, where he had his secret correspondences, the consussion into which that capture threw Ludovic, and the hatred of all the people against that usurper, would have made him master of it; but five days which he lost, gave time

to St Severin to cut off his passage.

After the taking of Novara, the king refolved to leave Sienna. He avoided passing
through Florence; but when he was at Pisa,
the Florentines gave in new petitions to have
back that city, and the cardinal de St Malo
supported their just claim. The Pisans made
so loud clamours, and so powerfully solicited
their guests, that they put in motion all the
court, and all the army, even the Swiss, who
threatened to kill the cardinal, if he occasioned the town to be restored; which induced
the king to leave them their liberty under his
protection.

Continuing his march, he came to a passenear Pietra-Santa, called the Hind's step \*, where a cart thrown across the road, with two pieces of ordnance, might have stopped his whole army. The enemy waited him in other places, and not being able to persuade themselves that he would attempt, with so small a body of men, to keep the high-roads, they had no thoughts of guarding them; so that he passed without opposition, though

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the Venetians and Ludovic had already affembled 2500 horsemen in complete armour,
8000 foot, and 2000 light horse. Almost
all those troops belonged to the Venetians,
who had given the command of them to the
marquis of Mantua. Those of the duke of
Milan, which were very few, were commanded by the count de Cajazzo. Moreover, the
Venetians said they had no intention thereby
to declare war against the king, but only
to assist Ludovic their ally.

The cardinal de St Pierre came and joined the king at Serezano, and proposed methods of raising an insurrection in Genoa. Upon canvalling the matter in council, it was thought that at the eye of a battle, which the king would be obliged to fight, his army must not be weakened: besides, if the battle were gained, Genoa would surrender of itself; and, if it were lost, Genoa would be no farther useful, because no alternative would remain but to abandon the affairs of Italy.

The king, contrary to that opinion, nevertheless, gave some troops; but the attempt
failed, by the precautions of the duke of Milan. Mean-time, the marshal de Gié was
fent with the vanguard under his command,
to take possession of the castle of Pontremoli,
which was pretty strong, but ill guarded.
He easily carried it; and the town was plundered, on occasion of a quarrel which happened between the inhabitants and the Swiss,
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which put the king in a passion against the

On leaving Pontremoli, the army fuffered for five days a very great fearcity of provisions. On entering the Milanese, John James Trivulce proposed to set up a standard in name of the young duke, son of John Galéas, whom Ludovic had put to death at Pavia. The king would not so displease the duke of Orleans, nor hurt his pretensions. After the affair of Novara, that duke, by failing of fufficient dispatch on his march to Pavia, which wanted to furrender, miffed that city. The enemy's army and his met at Vigevano, and were long in order of battle in fight of each other. The duke of Orleans, though the stronger, would not hazard a battle, on account of the misunderstanding among his officers. So he retired to Novara, where he was besieged by Galéas.

Mean-time the king arrived at the Appenine mountains, where he found himself very much at a loss how to transport fourteen pieces of heavy cannon by a road where never carriage had passed before. The Swiss offered to drag them along by main strength, and accomplished it. There is at the foot of the Appenine mountains, near Parma, a small village, called Fornoua, which the enemy had possessed, and had drawn up in order of battle a little below, resolved there to wait and fight

the king.

The marshal de Gié, on his arrival in that willage

village

village with the vanguard, hastened the king to advance, because he was scarcely a mile from the enemy, and not in a condition of refisting them if they attacked him. They did not however attempt this, because they still expected some troops, and on the falle report of a German captain whom they had taken, they believed the king stronger than he was. The king arrived at last at Fornoua, the 5th of July 1495, three days after the vanguard. The next morning Comines found him on horseback giving his orders. Notwithstanding his small stature, and the timidity "which " had always remained with him, from his " being brought up in great terror among " low people "," Comines fays, that at the fight of the enemy, and in the moment of fo great a battle, ardour to engage had animated his aspect, and given him the voice of a commander.

He sent Comines to a conference which had been resolved upon with the Venetians, to treat of peace; and in the mean time every thing was preparing for battle. The enemy's army was composed of 35,000 men: they were especially very strong in cavalry, among whom the Albanian light horse † were those who spread the greatest terror. These were Greeks, subjects of the Venetians, who sought after the Turkish fashion, both on foot and on

horseback.

<sup>[\*</sup> Qui lui étoit toujours demeurée, pour avoir été nourri en grande crainte parmi des petites gens.] [† Estradiots.]

horseback. A strange dress, a great scimitar which they held in their hands, and their extraordinary countenance, had alarmed our people the day before.

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The king had no troops but what had come from Naples, excepting some small bodies which had joined him on the march. Between the two armies ran the river Taro, which is eafily passed on foot, but which frequently fwells, and that very night it had been raised considerably by the rains. Charles had no intention to fight, but only to pass before the enemy's army, The cardinal de St Malo, who reasoned about war without understanding it, fuggested that design. As that was perceived to be impossible, a resolution was taken to fight; and, without waiting the fuccess of the conferences, the king passed the to fight according to the falhion of anvin

At the same time the light horse passed it on the other fide, and fell upon the baggage, and put it in great confusion. The count de Cajazzo was fet against our vanguard, which had advanced near the lenemy. The king, for that reason, believing that the battle would begin on that side, had thrown into it the best troops he had; but the marquis of Mantua had come in good order behind on the left fide; which obliged the king, who was in the centre, to turn his back on his vanguard, which was at a good distance from him, and to draw back nearer the rearguard. So he was behauorul more In care condiction he was

furrounded on all sides, and if any place had

given way, he had been undone.

As foon as he had passed the river, the whole army of the enemy engaged at once. The marquis of Mantua, after the lances were broken, attacked vigorously sword in hand. The king was in the heat of the engagement, and the bastard of Bourbon who waited upon him was taken twenty steps before him. Our rearguard taking the enemy in flank, the shock was terrible on both sides, and we were like to be overpowered by numbers; but 1500 light horse perceiving the consusion that their companions were making in the baggage, broke off, in order to have their share of the booty, and left the army so much the weaker.

On the other side, the Italians accustomed to sight according to the fashion of their country, battalion against battalion, and very slowly, were surprised at the brisk and hasty manner of the French. So that wing was routed, while a large body of reserve was waiting for the signal which was to be given by Rodolph of Mantua, uncle of the marquis; but as he was killed, there was no signal, and that body did not sight.

The king, who perceived his men in purfuit of the fugitives, thought it not proper to join the purfuers, and being unwilling likewife to join his vanguard, which he imagined he faw falling back, he remained with a fingle valet de chambre. In this condition he was

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perceived by some soldiers, who, in their slight, thought to take him. He defended himself some time, and by his courage and the goodness of his horse he escaped that

danger.

That prince had been deceived in thinking his vanguard was giving way. The contrary had happened. The marshal de Gié, perceiving the great number of his enemies, kept close, and the Italians who attacked him broke of themselves at the very first onset: and indeed they were but forry troops, which the duke of Milan, whose sole intention was faving, had picked up, as if it had been only to make up a number. The footmen of the army killed them with great hatchets, but not without abundance of difficulty, because their armour was so close they could not tell where to pierce it.

At the same time our people who were sollowing the enemy, not knowing where the king was, set up a shout on all sides to go to him, and remember Guinegate They had not forgot that battle in the time of Louis XI. where our victorious army had been deseated, by being amused with the booty. The king was soon disengaged by the arrival of his men, and the enemy sled on all hands. They lost 3500 men, and the rout had been total, had not the count de Petigliano, who in time of the battle had escaped out of our camp, where he was prisoner on his parole, gone and encouraged the trembling Italians; but he was

never able to bring them to renew the battle. Mean-time a council was held about the king, to deliberate whether they should at. tack the enemy whom they saw appearing. Our army was entire, since we had hardly lost 200 men. The adverse army, besides its loss, was in consternation and confusion. Trivulce and Francisco Secco, a gentleman in the Florentine service, aged seventy-two, who was acquainted with the manners of the Italians, affirmed, on feeing their appearance, that they

were in a panic, and advised to engage.

Their falutary advice was not followed; the men of experience in the army were not heard; and every thing was determined by young giddy persons, whom temerity or fear carried always to extremes. Had they been so wise as to make a proper use of so considerable an advantage, the Milanese had revolted against Ludovic, and the Venetians could not have known where to find troops. Instead of that nothing was thought of but paffing on. The next day was taken up in unnecessary conferences about a peace, and the day after, without waiting the event, our army decamped in as great disorder as if it had been beat. The enemy, encouraged by our retreat, followed us, but it was but flowly, and the king at last arrived at Aft. Thou and bus when co

He there was informed of the deplorable state of affairs at Naples. Ferdinand, though beat at first, and almost taken by Aubigny, had not lost courage, and had retired into Sinever

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cily, where he had formed a fleet with all possible dispatch. It was but ill equipped, and still worse provided in soldiers and crews. His dispatch however was serviceable to him, and appearing near Salerno, all that coast revolted against the French. He marched to Naples, where the people were for him; but the French were so well provided against all events, that he was forced to retire to sichia. Had Montpensier followed him, he might easily have dispersed that seet, which was so ill provided.

The Neapolitans recalled Ferdinand, and he came and took post within a mile of the city. The French coming out all in a body together to beat him off, at their return found the gate shur, and all the people up in arms. They intended to enter by another gate, but Ferdinand prevented them, and all they could do was to shur themselves up with Montpensier in the new castle, in which there was but a small quantity of provisions for so many then. Ferdinand kept them there closely be-

of Savoy had ledt him to facilitate its begon

When Alphonso his father saw him master of Naples, he wanted to resume the kingdom which he had left. His son answered, that he should then wait till he had secured the possession of it for him, lest he should be obliged to sly a second time. That unhappy king died some time after. Capua and Averso surrendered to Ferdinand, after the example of Naples. The Colonni, whom Charles Wol. II.

had loaded with riches, turned with fortune,

and much weakened the party.

The French were very much straitened, and almost starved in the castle. To complete their misfortunes, a sleet which the king sent to their assistance, took a panic at the sight of that of Ferdinand, which it met near Corsica, and retired to Leghorn, where all the soldiers dispersed.

Mean-time the duke of Orleans and his army were reduced to great extremities in Novara. Galeas de St Severin with 22,000 men held him blocked up on all quarters, and had intrenched himself so strongly in all his posts, that nothing was more difficult than to force him. To encourage the beliegers, Endovic had come to the fiege in perfon. The place was fo straitened, that 2000 men perished there by famine. The duke himself, who had fallen fick amidft fo many inconveniencies, preffed the king to come to his affiftance. He was at Vercelli, a place very proper for that enterprise, which the duches of Savoy had lent him to facilitate its success. But he would not hazard a battle before the arrival of the troops which he expected from France, and of 10,000 men which he was causing to be levied in Swifferland. blued ad

Ludovic, who dreaded nothing so much as to be forced to fight, was very desirous of coming to an accommodation, but he did not incline to be the first proposer of it. It happened, that one of his officers was at Cazal, while while Comines was there for the king: that lord, at the solicitation of the officer, engaged the Venetians, with whom he held a close correspondence, to interpose in that accommodation; by their means a truce was first made for ten days. The duke of Orleans had permission to go and wait upon the king at Vercelli, on condition he should shut himself up again if the peace were not made. The truce was continued: it was agreed, that the king should take off the garrison of Novara, and that the town should be put into the hands of the inhabitants, to be surrendered to the party upon which both sides should agree.

At the same time the Florentines obtained orders for the restitution of their places. They gave a great sum of money, with which the king brought the Swiss. There came more of them than he wanted: ten thousand arrived at Vercelli, and 10,000 more entered on another side: a vast number were sent back, who were slocking to him, with their wives and children, as soon as they saw money. It was feared they might make themselves the stronger party; and, for the same reason, those who were kept, were carefully separated.

When these troops were come, the duke of Milan was very happy to make peace. It was concluded on these conditions, that Novara should be restored to him; that he should be bound to send troops to succour the castle of Naples, and that in case the king returned thither, the duke should be obliged to follow

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months were given to the Venetians to accede to that peace if they pleased; and if they refused to do so, Ludovic was obliged to join the king against them. Thus the treaty of peace, begun upon the mediation of the Venetians, seemed to turn against them; but they well knew that Ludovic had no intention to keep the agreement, and that he wanted only to get the French army out of Italy.

After the peace, Charles disbanded the Swiss, who exacted pay for a whole quarter, though they had not served; and they had even resolved to seize the king, who for that reason was obliged suddenly to leave Vercelli. He sent Comines to Venice, to propose an accommodation to the Venetians. But they answered, that they had no occasion to make peace with the king, with whom they were not at war, and that they did not think they had broke with him by assisting their ally,

whom he was attacking.

Moreover, they promifed to oblige Ferdinand to hold of Charles the kingdom of Naples, to pay him, by way of acknowledgment, a yearly tribute, and to leave to him the principality of Tarentum with some other places. Comines, on his return to give the king an account of his embassy, passed through Milan, to remind the duke of the troops which he had promised; he continued to promise, and deceived Comines, who had too much relied upon his word. Comines came

to Lyons, where he found Charles wholly taken up with his pleasures, and laid before him the proposals of the Venetians; with which the king was well enough pleased, on account of the disastrous situation of affairs; but as the cardinal de St Malo was not of that

opinion, the thing was not done.

Much about the fame time the Dauphin died. The king at first appeared suitably affected with that loss, but he was soon comforted. That prince was fo weak that he began already to have jealousies of his son, who from three years of age appeared to be high-spirited and daring. The queen was inconsolable; and history, which does not pardon princes any of their weaknesses, condefcends to remark, that the king, in order to divert his afflicted wife, brought her fiddlers, which increased her grief. A short time after he had accounts of the taking of the castle of Naples, which Montpensier long defended, notwithstanding the extreme scarcity to which he was reduced. These accounts vexed the king, who was willing enough to have matters fucceed, but would not give himself the trouble to take care of themwas to weak that he was forced to basharolad

About that time the places of the Florentines began to occasion much trouble in Italy. The count de Ligni was governor of most of them, and had given the command to Entragues. The latter was not satisfied with the orders which he had got from the king to D d 3.

restore those places; he wanted also those of Ligni: after receiving them, he called the Florentines; but whether he had fecretly got any countermand from the count, or had himself altered his mind, he derided them, and fold the citadel to the Pifans, who immediately demolished it. The other governors, following this example, fold their places to the Venetians, to the Genoese, and to the inhabitants of Lucca.

Though the king was displeased at those shameful instances of disobedience, the count de Ligni did not thereby lose his favour; and Entragues, such was the weakness of the administration, was no otherwise punished than by a short banishment from France. Ludovic who had excited the revolt of the Pifans. fomented it as much as he could, hoping always that in time he should find an opportunity of making himself master of that place. He obliged the Venetians to take it under their protection, which they did by a public decree.

Montpensier in the mean time had again brought together a fmall army, with which he held out as well as he could. Ferdinand was fo weak that he was forced to pawn fome places to the Venetians in order to get fuccours from them. He came very flowly, and if the affairs of France had not been quite neglected, they might still have been sup-ported; but the cardinal de St Malo, who had the management, acted to remissly, that the **fuccours** 

fuccours never came seasonably. The troops were suffered to languish in expectation of the money which Montpensier demanded. Some was sent at last, but too late. So the expense was made, and no fruit reaped from it.

This negligence raised a suspicion of some understanding between the king's ministers and the enemy; the cardinal, and even the duke of Bourbon, was accused of it. The duke of Nola's arrival at Lyons awakened the king amidst his pleasures; he was seized with a sudden longing to return to Italy. At the same time he resolved to send Trivulce to Ast with some troops, to cause the duke of Orleans follow, and then to go in person: he said God obliged him to do so. Perhaps his conscience reproached him for not doing his endeavours to repress the scandals of Alexander VI. and redress the gries vances of the church and of Italy.

Then, as being foon to fet out, he went post to Tours, to St Martin's tomb, and to St Denys, to perform a vow which he had made at the battle of Fornoua. As soon as he returned, he began to press the cardinal, adding frequently to words threatening and injurious language. That prelate was not a bit moved, well knowing that to pacify the king he needed only promise without being conterned about the performance. More than a year had elapsed in such amusements.

When the month of May 1496 came, it

was thought that the king, who expressed so much keenness, was at last going to set out in so favourable a season. He took it into his head that he must take a ceremonial leave of St Martin and St Denys. He added, that, on his going to Paris, he wanted to oblige that great city to raise a loan for him, and to engage the rest by its example to give him the like assistance; but the reason of the journey was in fact only to visit one of the queen's maids, of whom he was fond.

Mean-time Ferdinand king of Castille began to put his forces in action on the side of France. He had already sent to succour Ferdinand king of Naples, Ferrand Gonçales, called Gonsalvo, who merited in the course of that war the appellation of a great general. But in order to make a greater diversion of the French troops, he sent a large

body of cavalry into Languedoc.

The count de St André, who commanded there for the duke of Bourbon, repulsed the enemy, though the stronger party, and in ten hours time took from them by storm Salces, which was troublesome to the province. During these commotions, Charles at last ordered Trivulce to set out for Ast, with a handful of men. As for the I duke of Orleans, who perceived the king becoming infirm by his excesses; he shifted as much as he could to leave the kingdom, of which the succession was to come to him.

i Mean-times the countrides Monapander,

though forgotten by France, made a stout defence against Ferdinand. He had very near defeated him at Frangette: he had come to fuccour that place which Ferdinand was befieging, and found it taken; but it was eafy for him to cut in pieces the enemy's army; dispersed and busy in plundering. Persi, a French captain, who had behaved very well in that war, either diffatisfied by the generals or bribed by the enemy, intimidated the foldiers. From that time matters were past remedy. Division increased among the officers: the foldiers, and especially the Swiss, were continually in a mutinous manner demanding money. Provisions were wanting; and, in order to find them, Montpensier was forced to decamp almost every day. He hoped also by that means to engage Ferdinand, who was following him, to a battle: that prince, on the contrary, without risking a battle, intended that our army should perish fixong fleet at Warfelles, in order to falshi fo

It was at last blocked up in Atella; and the Swiss, for want of pay, deserted to the enemy. Gonsalvo joined Ferdinand with 6000 men, and that reinforcement obliged Montpensier to surrender, after holding out a month. By the capitulation he was to return to France with his army, and the Italians were to retire to their own homes there to live in safety. But Gonsalvo kept no part of that treaty; Montpensier was so long detained on various pretexts in the neighbourhood

hood of Naples, that at last he died there, and of 5000 French scarcely 500 returned to France.

Virginio Ursini, always faithful to the king, and who had never left Montpensier, was seized at the castle of the Egg, where he died a short time after, not without suspicion of poison. We had still Aubigny in Calabria, and Gratian de la Guerre in Abruzzo. This last, pressed by Gonsalvo, retired into Gaéta, where Frederic, Ferdinand's uncle, besieged him.

Ferdinand, king of Napies, died at that time, and matters only succeeded the better under Frederic, in whom the barons confided; so that they were soon perfectly reconciled with him. A maritime place of such consequence as Gaéta, which secured an entry for the French into the kingdom of Naples, merited well to be succoured. The king had sent thither six ships. He was equipping a strong sleet at Marseilles, in order to send this ther a greater reinforcement. But the cardinal delayed it so long, that the confederates had time to take post at the Pomegues, islands near to Marseilles, and to block up our sleet in port.

Aubigny, still very valiantly defended himfelf against Gonsalvo; but perceiving he could expect no succours from the king, he surrendered, on condition, that, on leaving Calabria, he should have liberty to retire to France.

The Venetians took Tarentum, which they

fome time after restored to the king of Naples; and, on the reports which were spread of Charles's return to Italy, they agreed with the emperor to bring Ludovic thither. He came with vast designs, but sew forces, and he had no interest there. Ludovic always prosecuting his intention of becoming master of Pisa, advised the Pisans to put themselves in Maximilian's hands, from whom he expected to get them sooner than from the Venetians; but they resused to comply with that measure.

That prince, being unwilling that his expedition should be fruitless, besieged Leghorn; but he was forced to raise the siege, and returned into Germany without effectuating any thing, The other confederates succeeded better: Frederic obliged Gaéta to capitulate, and Gonfalvo retook the fortress of Ostia, which he put into the pope's hands. Thus the French and their friends loft all they had in Italy. Mean-time, Baptist Fregolo took advantage of the divisions in Genoa, to deliver it up to the king. The cardinal of St Peter in bonds [Sancti Petri in vinculis] laboured also to make him master of Savona, of which he was a native. Both attempts failed , but Trivulce took fome place in the territories of Genoa, and from Ludovic.

Mean time, a truce was negotiating with Ferdinand king of Spain, who was making proposals to Charles, to put him out of conceit with the league, and intreated him to forget all he had attempted against him, and

all this for no purpose, but to amuse him, and give time to the confederates to finish their assairs in Italy. At last a truce was concluded, and notwithstanding Charles's unwillingness, Ferdinand got the confederated princes in Italy included in it. But as the truce was not to begin in Italy till fifty days after it had been agreed for France and Spain, it happened, during that time, that the French turned remiss, and the confederates seized that opportunity to retake the places which Trivulce had taken from them.

Another truce was afterward made between the two kings, in which their allies were not included. Ferdinand proceeded farther, and instead of continuing his protection to his relation, he contrived to rob him. He claimed a right to the kingdom of Naples, conquered from the house of Anjou, by Alphonso his uncle, with the forces of the kingdom of Arragon. Upon that pretext, he proposed to Charles, to act jointly, and to divide with him that conquest. The other consederates had each their designs, and a misunderstanding soon arose among them, when they had nothing further to fear from the French.

The pope, the Venetians, and Ludovic, who all wanted to prescribe laws, and extend their dominion over their neighbours, could not endure each other. So new parties were forming in staly, and the pope was often sending envoys to treat privately with the king. He had lost Louis Borgia, duke of Candia.

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Cardinal Valentine, Louis's brother, jealous of the grandeur to which the pope raised him as the eldest, killed him, and resolved to take to a military life. This design was the effect of another kind of jealousy, because they were both fond of the same person.

Alexander, moved with that misfortune, expressed his intentions of being converted; but the perverseness of his natural temper foon extinguished these sentiments of piety. He turned all his thoughts on fettling Cardinal Valentine, and demanded in marriage for him Charlotta, daughter of Frederic king of Naples, with the principality of Tarentum, which her father refused. The pope from that time became his implacable enemy, and turned his thoughts toward France, where the princess had always refided, even before the wars of Naples, fince Ferdinand her grandfather had sent her thither, in order to marry the king of Scotland, which did not take effect.

All those things raised the expectations of Charles, whose thoughts were more than ever bent on the affairs of Naples. He spoke of his errors sensibly, and with regret; and the shame of having fallen into them, made him very desirous to repair them. He began to apply more seriously to business, and to regulate his sinances. He gave to such as came in his way, and especially to the poor, long audiences, in which he indeed dispatch—Vol. H.

ed but few things; but they nevertheless prevented many disorders, for fear the king should be informed of them.

That prince then had thoughts of fending to Naples a strong army, under the command of Aubigny, and of the marquis of Mantua, who, being ill used by the Venetians, had enlifted with him. All the measures seemed to be well laid; but when one lets flip an opportunity, it is not always to be recovered when he inclines. Charles made a progress to Tours and Amboise, where he raifed the most magnificent building that had ever till that time been feen in France. There going with the queen to fee a match at tennis played, he got a stroke on the head, and some time after he fell into an apoplexy, He was laid on a mattress, where he died in feven or eight hours, the 7th of April 1498. He recovered a little during his illness, and showed that he had his thoughts fixed upon God. He had confessed twice the week of his death; and the last word he said in health, was, that he hoped never to be guilty of a mortal fin, nor even of a venial one if possible,

The day after his death, Savonarola, whose credit was much weakened by the ruin of the French affairs, after losing his chief protectors at Florence, in a mob, was hanged as a false prophet and an impostor, by order of Alexander VI. whose scandalous life he had

publicly reproved. 5 AP 66

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

